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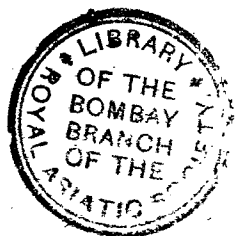
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MUSSOLINI

AN OUTLOOK OF LIFE

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THE OTTOMAN TURKS

BY

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OR OF 'THE FAITH OF ISLAM', 'THE RECENSIONS OF
QUR'AN', 'THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS OF ISLAM',
'THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE
QUR'AN', 'THE LIFE OF MUHAMMAD',
'THE CULT OF 'ALI', 'MUSLIM
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE RISE OF THE EMPIRE	I
THE DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE	64
APPENDIX A—THE OTTOMAN SULTANS	127
APPENDIX B—OTTOMAN SLAVERY AS AN IMPERIAL ASSET	129
APPENDIX C—OTTOMAN LITERATURE	133
INDEX	137

*Our empire is the House of Islām; from for-
son the lamp of our empire is kept burning
from the hearts of the infidels.*

SULTAN MUHAMMAD, THE CONQUEROR

Political doctrines are theories that formulate and define, in the abstract, the relations between individuals and the community. As they are products of the intellect, they are easily understood and they can be spread even independently from the personalities of those who were the first to affirm them, thus Democracy and Liberalism, Socialism and Communism are, so-to speak, anonymous doctrines. The masses in most cases, do not even know the name of their authors and when they remember them it is because the political doctrine has earned fame to its author and not because the prestige of his name or the influence of his personality have contributed towards its success.

A RELIGIOUS PHENOMENON

Fascism, on the contrary, cannot be separated from the personality of its creator, and it is therefore impossible to conceive Fascism without Mussolini. The Fascist doctrine, reduced to an abstract theory, loses most of its drawing power. The same ideas expressed by Mussolini, when repeated by others, whether commentators or interpreters, lose all their tonality and seducing beauty. Undoubtedly Fascism did not originate as a sudden vision exclusively due to the genius of one man but as the result of a particular historical situation, and it answers the particular requirements of contemporary society. It originated in Italy as a result of the crisis of the old State, of the unrest and discontent that followed the war and of the anarchy that spread among the masses. As such it would answer the same purpose in other countries as well, everywhere, in fact, where similar conditions of internal disorder prevail, due to bitter party strife, to lack of experience and to weakness of the traditional ruling classes, everywhere, in short, where the abuse

of individual freedom urgently calls for a government able to govern. Fascism, in other terms, amounts to a moral more than a political crisis of European society, both capitalistic and individualistic, in which the doctrines and forms of political life during the nineteenth century, once based on new and vigorous ideals, reveal themselves antiquated, inadequate to the fast rhythm of economic and social life and, above all, lacking youthful power of expansion.

All this, however, does not explain the indissoluble ties uniting Fascism to the personality of its creator, admitted by intuition even by foreigners themselves who, when they realize the results achieved by Fascism, regretfully confess that they lack a Mussolini. The spreading of Fascism beyond Italy's frontiers is due only in a very small part indeed to its doctrines, but mainly to the suggestive personality of Mussolini that strikes people's fancy and wins their hearts. To deprive Fascism of this human element and reduce it to a cold and grey theory for doctrinarians and professors, means to deprive it of its living, actual and concrete

element and therefore closing the only way for understanding it.

It does not follow that Fascism consists only of the magical force of attraction belonging to Mussolini's personality. The policy it follows is not based on sudden inspirations nor is it due to irrational caprice or to will, instead, it is the result of a plan and of fundamental ideas — very general ideas, it must be admitted — because Mussolini in ordinary everyday practice does not move within the limits of a programme decided in advance, and he is not tied to formulas but he retains all that freedom of action and initiative which all true and great intransigent men insist on having.

This substantial coherence which is not afraid to appear incoherent when its own tactical methods are modified or rectified, will enable us to examine more deeply the nature of Fascism.

It makes us realize, in fact, that we are on a different level to that of ordinary political doctrines which must be formally coherent otherwise they cease to exist. If we were not afraid of being misunderstood we

would here like to use a great word that, namely, of a religious phenomenon. But we must make it clear at once that Fascism has very well defined its position towards religion in general and especially towards the Catholic religion.

Fascism essentially deals with everything connected with this world and insists upon the duties and obligations of man during the present time in this world. In spite of its modern character, Fascism not only does not disavow the world but it affirms, instead, that there are two values in it, two absolute aims, and that life should be lived with a religious feeling both as a mission and a duty.

If therefore, a religious phenomenon is mentioned, this term is employed to mean an outlook of life and a moral belief. It is for this reason that Fascism is not only a political theory. In fact, a theory may be good or bad independently of the fact as to whether it is followed or not. But a belief, instead, loses all its efficacy and all its persuasive virtue unless it is evidenced in the same life of the person professing it. All the power that spreads from it is not due to a weak

and pale formula but to the real life that is contained in it. It is only then that words are no longer simple words and the idea becomes an overwhelming and far-reaching power. Intellectual criticism can analyse it and discover logical defects in it, but it will be handling its outer covering, the dogma, namely, instead, of the belief against which it will remain powerless.

That these considerations are exact, namely, that Fascism should be interpreted with the same criterion used for phenomena of a religious and moral nature instead of for essentially political ones, is proved by the fact that religions, unlike theories, are all inseparable from the personality of their founders. The propulsive force of a belief, in fact, depends on the light given by the person of its founder, and in the course of centuries it will always recall him as its master and model of life, in other terms it will live in him.

There is, besides, another point in common: all political doctrines are concerned with rights — the rights of man and classes, etc. All religious movements, instead, are concerned with duties. Finally it would not

be possible to understand, in any other way, the very mystic exaltation of the masses and the efficiency of the rites and ceremonies of Fascism if one attempted to explain them from a pure political point of view.

The objection might be raised that every political doctrine implies and presupposes an outlook of life and therefore it derives from a religious or philosophical conception of the world. Liberalism, in fact, derives more or less directly from the Protestant and Calvinistic sects, Socialism from historical materialism and so on. It is exactly in this that they differ, however. The connection between the political doctrine and the religious source disappears in time, so much so in fact, that one can today profess liberal ideas without being a Protestant or a Calvinist, just the same as one can be a Socialist without being a materialist. The greatest majority of the followers of Liberalism possibly do not even know the name of Calvin, in the same way as the greatest majority of Socialists do not know the meaning of historical materialism. In the case of Fascism, instead, the essentially political doctrines and the principles relating to constitutional

and administrative practice form its secondary aims that are neither understood nor justified unless brought back to its guiding and inspiring centre, namely, its general outlook of life.

THE ETHICS OF ACTION

But what is the outlook of life that forms the essence of Fascism? There is no doubt that the war and the tragic experience it afforded contributed towards shaping it. It is interesting to follow in Mussolini's war diary how the conviction that life should be won and not waited for and how conscious strength of will and not resignation are necessary, because the world belongs to the strong, was gradually strengthened in him during the days spent in the trenches. The war not only originated the feeling that victory was the result of energy of character, of unconquerable will and of the power of sacrifice and resistance, but also that of the calm valour of sacrifice, of the beauty of daring and of the intrinsic nobility of courage.

« For us Fascists, » Mussolini said. « life

is a continual incessant war which we accept with great detachment, great courage and the necessary daring ». And also, « I love the Italian people in my own particular way; mine is the armed love, not the weak and tearful love. It is severe and virile and it faces the duties of life as in a battle. »

This is consequently an heroic conception of life, spurning comfort, calm and lazy common-sense and the limited middle class mode of living. Mussolini never promised that everyone will have a chicken for dinner as Henry IV. and Hoover promised, and he never claimed to give citizens all the blessings of material welfare. His thoughts are assiduously occupied with economic problems and he strives to assure food and work to the working classes because the spectacle of poverty saddens him to the verge of illness and, also and, more so, because it is impossible to follow a great policy with a starving people. Wealth is an element of the power of nations and it cannot represent their ideal. Hedonism and the race after pleasure are excluded from the Fascist creed.

The clamorous exit of Mussolini from the Socialist Party that had as its occasional

motive the question of Italy's intervention in the war, had deeper rooted reasons in the materialistic selfishness of Socialism itself. This explains why Fascism has not been shaken by the economic crisis. The Fascist Government does not manage a limited liability company and does not remain in power only until good dividends are paid. Economic difficulties contributed towards the realization of the necessity of discipline and of an unhesitating direction of national life.

This is an heroic and therefore warlike conception. But some explanation is necessary at this point. If to-day the practice prevails in Fascism of willingly adopting terms taken from military life, if Fascism willingly considers itself as a militia and if, finally, it encourages a military education for the rising generations, all this has hardly anything to do with so-called Militarism. Militarism, in fact, implies predominance in the life of a State of a caste, the military caste, that in a certain way serves as a model to all the other people, and it is naturally animated by aggressive inclinations and wants war for war's sake. Military education, instead, implies discipline, courage and sacrifices and

therefore is a virile education. War is not its only and immediate aim. It does not represent the predominance of a caste because it strives to impart to all the citizens a sense of warlike dignity and pride. It is not brutally military and does not only consist in drilling and the use of arms, because its motto is « the Book and the Rifle » and the book takes the first place. Fascism is essentially an exaltation of intense living as an affirmation, an advancement and a progress. There is nothing more opposed to it than the placid sedentary life of the small middle-class based on petty prudence and fear of responsibility. « Fascism accepts and loves life, does not admit suicide which it considers cowardly and understands life as a duty, an uplifting and a conquest. Life must be high and full, lived for one own's self but more so for others, whether far or near, present or future. » The same demographic prohibition of Malthusian practices, is not only based on the conception that number means power and that therefore the limitation of the birth-rate is a serious menace to civilization but also on the instructive conscience that to set artificial limits on life

is a cowardice and an offense because « life calls life ».

It is an outlook of life that the war contributed to originate but that in reality is based on more remote reasons. Nobody in Italy has forgotten the invectives of Carducci against the « Little Italy » of his days and the same Oriani, although his words were hardly heard, had vainly denounced the insignificance of our political life and the limitations of our horizon.

There were even those who sought an explanation of this mediocracy in the insufficient ideals of the Risorgimento. Fascism, instead, has no connection with the above isolated protests but with the general spiritual movement that manifested itself above all as a criticism of the ideals of the nineteenth century. The belief in human progress towards the close of that century, had, in fact, degenerated in a rather coarse and mediocre middle-class optimism that considered the increase of material welfare and technical improvement as the only aim of history and identified civilization with the comforts of life.

A reactionary movement arose against this soporific tendency.

And in as much as this movement refused to submit to such a peaceful life in a world that went on by itself but insisted on an activity having creative spirit and based on willingness, led to an essential policy of action.

This ethical policy, however, had the defect of being only expressed in the vague nostalgic outpourings of literary men and poets incapable of any practical action. In order to have any intrinsic value action must insist on initiative, energy and courage and, in order to prove salutary and fruitful, it must have the power to shake off stagnant habits, then it must not exhaust itself nor serve as an object for its own ends. Action for action's sake becomes an idle and useless pastime.

Anyone who acts only for the sake of doing so does not really accomplish anything. Fascism succeeded in removing this ethical action from the realm of poetic nostalgic ideas and imparting a precise and concrete finality to it. This finality is represented by the Nation.

THE NATION AND THE STATE

It is necessary to explain here this conception of the Nation. Fascism is not nationalistic in the sense that it pretends to affirm a natural superiority of race by creating a strong national conscience. The idea of race in the naturalistic and anthropological sense is completely unknown to Fascism. Thus, for instance, anti-Semitism that is at the root of several other nationalistic movements, has absolutely no connection with Fascism. Nor does Fascism consider other nations as irremediably adverse, on the contrary it tends towards collaboration especially among European nations and it upholds the idea of a common heritage of culture in the West that should be defended and developed. By affirming the value of the Nation, Fascism above everything else combats an historical error, that, namely, owing to which the unsuppressible reality of national community is neglected through a vague internationalism. The Nation represents community of language, history and traditions, a community of virtues and defects, of tastes and ten-

dencies, of habits, memories, experiences and sensations.

But so far the Nation would only be a state of facts and it would not yet constitute a moral finality. Instead, the Nation is a finality for Fascism in as much as it allows the individual to go beyond his own immediate and particular interests and to collaborate towards the universal ends of history. « Fascism is an historical conception in which man only counts in as much as his function, in the spiritual process towards which he contributes, counts, and his function, is exercised in the family and social group and in the Nation and the history towards which all nations collaborate. Hence, the great value attaching to tradition and to memories, to language, customs and the rules of social life. Outside history man does not count. « In other terms man is not an individual in the abstract, but he lives and works in a determined group and surroundings. Now, while nowadays the family has too narrow limits for the exhaustion of all the activities of men, and humanity is a too vague and uncertain conception, the Nation, instead, is a definite organ and a concrete historical reality which,

owing to its greatness and duration, can constitute an absolute finality for those who compose it. Fascism, therefore, purposely came into existence for the defence of the Nation as a reactionary movement against the disintegrating forces of national unity and assumed the character of an heroic and sentimental passion, animated by the will of saving the Nation and restoring the fullness of its life.

As war had to be waged against disintegrating elements Fascism naturally assumed a revolutionary character in front of the Democratic-Liberal State which, owing to its passive and tolerant attitude, allowed passions to break loose. But the task assumed by Fascism could not be limited to the restoration of internal order which cannot be considered as an end to itself. Had the Fascist Revolution been limited to the re-establishment of national discipline it would have been a reaction and not a revolution. Internal order merely served as a condition for a vaster enterprise of renewal, that, namely, through which the Nation could expand. Italy, in fact, limited within too narrow boundaries, with a steadily growing population,

lacking sufficient raw materials, without rich colonies, required an unitarian impulse for its national energies and their coordination and organization so that their power could be increased to the greatest extent possible. This iron necessity, which Italy required, meant an increased rhythm of national life, a more rapidly decisive power of command and execution in its administration and, more than everything else, the formation of a powerful, prepared and resolute national block. Hence the necessity of a radical transformation of the State which is the juridical organization of the Nation.

A serious drawback against compactness was due to a disintegrating element, namely, to so-called parliamentarism, that is to say to the degeneration of the parliamentary system which had weakened the State and after the war had prevented any government from following a coherent policy. The Fascist Revolution, therefore, had to bring about a change in the organization of the State based on a quite different State conception from the Liberal one which was founded on the principle of giving free play to parliamen-

tary parties and its chief aim was to guarantee individual liberty.

Fascism upset this situation by introducing the new conception governing the relations between the individual and the State. According to this conception the individual is no longer considered as the foundation and the end of society nor is society considered as the sum of all the single citizens added together. Instead, society is regarded as an organic complete entity with aims, a will and elements of its own, while single individuals are regarded as its integrating component parts.

When the relations between the State and the individual are defined as above, the functions of the State towards the individual must necessarily be conceived in a different way. While, in fact, according to the Liberal doctrines the functions of the State should be limited by the strict necessity of the country's defence against foreign enemies and of guaranteeing order, always following the rule that individual liberty should be defended as much as possible from State interference, according to the Fascist doctrine the functions of the State are considerably vaster. In fact, the Fascist State is not

only a juridical State but an ethical State as well. «The State is a spiritual and moral fact as it gives a concrete form to the political, juridical and economic organization of the Nation and a similar organization, from its birth and during its development, is a spiritual manifestation. The State guarantees internal and external safety but it is also the custodian of the popular spirit which it transmits in the way it was elaborated in the course of centuries through its language, customs and beliefs. The State does not only represent the present but also the past and more so the future. It is the State that survives the brief span of the individual's life and represents the everlasting national conscience. It is the State that educates citizens in civil virtues, makes them understand their mission in life, arouses their sense of humanity, harmonizes their interests with justice and transmits their conquests in the realm of thought. In science, art, law, in human solidarity through which men are developed from elementary tribal life to the higher expression of human power, that it is to empire, the State hands over to posterity the names of those who gave their lives for its integrity or in obe-

dience to its laws and sets up as an example for future generations to follow the leaders, who increased its territory or the men of genius who increased its glory. When the feeling of the State declines and the dissolving and disunited tendencies of individuals or groups prevail, then national societies are nearing their end ».

AGAINST FATALISM

Is it an absolute government then? A revival of the reactionary ideas of De Maistre and Metternich? A return to the Leviathan of Hobbes, to the theory of the State that crushes with terrorism any attempt of independence on the part of the citizens and imposes with force, order and uniformity? Or else a return to the Hegelian State doctrine, supreme and final aim of all human activity, definite goal of all the history and evolution of the human spirit? A negation of two centuries of history, a pure and simple negation of the political thought and ideals of the modern world?

Mussolini is quite explicit in this respect:

«The fact that Fascism combats Socialism, Democracy and Liberalism should not lead to the belief that it aims at putting back the world to where it was before 1870 which is the date of the beginning of the Dëmo-Liberal century. One cannot go back. Fascist doctrine has not elected as its prophets De Maistre. Monarchical absolutism is buried and so is ecclesiastical rule. So are feudal privileges and divisions of castes impenetrable and uncommunicating with each other. The conception of the Fascist State has absolutely nothing to do with police governments».

In the first place Fascism is not reactionary in as much as the restoration of order, the defence of private property, the check imposed on individual and class license, formed only one of the phases of its action and in a certain sense the least important.

The *ancien régime*, the idea of a paternal State, was founded on a static conception of life and history, Fascism instead, has an essentially dynamic character, progressive and revolutionary which does not tend towards the revival of the archaic forms of social life nor to the revival of a dead and

buried past. Its aim is to assure to the Italian people a more free and intense life, a more energetic and healthy expansion of all the forms of human activity.

The Fascist Revolution was not a *coup d'État* of the ruling classes or of the military hierarchy but a mass movement of the lower classes.

The Fascist State is not the legacy of a particular social class as it was created by the people and it is due to their will.

The observance of strict discipline is the result of the free will of the masses. Popular sovereignty, therefore, but not in the sense of a power resulting from the numerical sum of all the interests of individuals split up in atoms, but from the national will in which each individual forgets and annuls his own particular interests by recognizing that the true essence of personality consists in sacrificing one's self for an order of values greatly superior to one's insignificant and contingent individuality. It was not superfluous to insist at first on the religious character of the Fascist movement and on its difference from other political doctrines because it has an idealistic and voluntary character si-

milar to religious movements. The people in it are masters of their destiny. As regards loyalty, Fascism is intolerant and intransigent. Every belief is intolerant and cannot recognize doctrines and currents that threaten its action and offend the absolute value it upholds.

There was only one tolerant doctrine in modern times, — the Liberal doctrine. A formidable instrument in waging war against old anacronistic regimes, and in Italy a precious element in the revindication of national liberty during the Risorgimento, the Liberal idea is not well suited for the positive action of government especially in troubled times. We must leave to one side the question of sincerity of Liberal regimes, namely, the question as to whether they were really liberal. In Italy the so-called pre-war Liberals were pure Conservatives. Compared to some of them, for instance, powerful leaders of industry and university professors who represented wealth and high culture, the Socialists were undoubtedly more sincerely Liberal. In theory the Liberals recognized the rights of the people, they took good care in practice to allow a free hand to the people

whose voice could be heard only to a certain extent. Especially in the South they represented an aristocracy, a class by itself, with all the meanness, egoism and prejudices of a privileged class.

But we must abide within the doctrinal field. Liberalism is adopted as a method of government. Its ideal would be the government that, allowing absolute freedom of movement to all tendencies and parties, strove for the triumph of the best tendency through polemics, free examination and criticism. Strictly speaking a similar government should not intervene with its authority and force in any struggle but should wait for its settlement before taking any decision or action. The President of a similar government should be a sort of common denominator similar to that in advanced arithmetic, deprived of any thought of its own, and he should not act on his own direct responsibility, but as a delegate or an instrument, without either affording any guidance or following a programme. A similar government is possible, within certain limits, when all the citizens are substantially in agreement, where a common uniform mentality prevails

and an undivided public opinion exists. It is possible when political parties only differ on questions of detail, on administrative cases relating to taxes and customs, but not when the very bases of social life or the forms of the State are discussed and political strife then assumes the tragic character of a struggle of principles. It is not possible for instance, for a government to adopt Liberal methods in dealing with Communism, that aims at destroying, by means of violence and therefore not by liberal methods, the very essence of the Liberal State and the very principles of Liberalism. A Liberal method could be followed only in dealing with those who accept it but it is obviously impossible to follow the rules of fair play in duelling against an adversary who claims freedom in not following the same rules. And if a Liberal government were to insist on following such generous methods in the hope that the adversary, confused and penitent would repent and be converted, it would end by losing its prestige and appear weak and ingenuous, while the people would feel unprotected and end by overthrowing it and assuming power themselves.

The Liberal method is based on the belief of the beneficial dialectics of history according to which even the adversary and evil itself ends by contributing towards the inevitable triumph of goodness. It is an optimistic belief that the terrible experience of the war and the historical research on the decline and disappearance of civilization has nowadays shaken. And besides it is too high a belief to be followed in concrete political life. What does it matter to the people to know or rather hope that something higher and finer will follow when they are no more? The important thing for the people is the real and effective existence that by duty and interest must be defended. A similar conception according to which irrespective of what happens, everything is justified because good always wins, can serve as a comfort, — and a meagre one, — to the vanquished, but it cannot serve as a motive for action which must have a firm belief in both evil and good and must know that what it considers as good is really good and what it considers as evil is really evil. An optimistic belief in the final victory of what is good can easily

be transformed into a passive resignation and indifference, namely, in fatalism.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE STATE

There is another point of the Liberal doctrine to be examined. The aim of Liberalism is the reduction of the activity of the State to an indispensable minimum. Even more than this, the ideal would consist in the complete elimination of the State implying a perfect society in which the State with the severity of its laws and the force of its armies and police would become superfluous. Evidently the State is here understood as a state of police like during the period of the Holy Alliance when Liberalism flourished. Between a similar State and individual freedom nothing except opposition is possible because one excludes the other.

But opposition implies that the State and the individual should be two abstract terms while the opposite is the case in reality. The State lives through the individual on which it is founded while the individual finds that his life is only possible within the State. The

opposition between the State and the individual cannot be resolved by the elimination of one out of the two terms but by means of their progressive identification. Antithesis had a reason for existing when the State was the inheritance of a family or of a group, and individuals were its subjects. But modern history represents the process through which this conflict is overcome and is manifested as a progressive widening of the State which is no longer the inheritance of a privileged few and which has been strengthened. The authority of the State has increased in the course of modern history in the interest of the freedom of citizens. Its functions have likewise increased enormously owing to the justified requirements of the same citizens. Thus, during the Middle Ages when justice ceased to be private and the State assuming judicial functions forbade feuds and other forms of vengeance, this progress of State sovereignty became a guarantee of freedom threatened by injustice and violence. The triumph of absolutism during the first centuries of the present modern Era represented the overthrowing of the « liberties » accorded to the privileged classes, the high nobility and

clergy, and the inclusion of the subjects under the same law meant the redemption of the unprivileged classes, namely the middle-class and the people. And the same French Revolution overthrew the monarchy exactly because it had delayed the process of removing privileges so that the State still appeared as the prerogative and the monopoly of a limited class. The authority of the State by removing these groups saved the individual from their oppression and guaranteed freedom. But this guarantee nowadays is not limited to simple juridical protection because the State must help, support and develop the life of the individuals. Either its preference or impartiality would imply a great injustice as they would amount to a continuation of the privileged position enjoyed by the wealthy and the powerful to the entire detriment of the weak and the poor.

If, instead, by Liberalism, the strengthening of personality is meant, then, Fascism is on the right way because just as it does not reprivatize the caste privileges that characterized the « *ancien régime* » it does not deny those elementary right inherent to human personality on which the building of

the modern State was founded. The sovereignty of the law and the equality of the citizens in front of it are still the corner-stones of the Fascist State the legislation of which affords to the material and moral life of individuals belonging to every social class an infinitely more provident and efficacious defence than that given by any other legislation.

Let us take education as an example. By assuming education the State lifts the masses from that condition of inferiority represented by illiteracy. Now, the Fascist State has undertaken a war without quarter against this scourge by appropriating large sums of money for school-building, by energetically promoting the physical education of young men and by striving, above everything else, through the methods and programmes followed, to encourage pride, dignity and responsibility in forming the character of the young. It is sufficient to examine the programmes of the elementary and first grade schools to see that didactics followed by Fascism are based on freedom of initiative and that they aim at creating a spontaneous spirituality by abolishing prejudiced experien-

ces, foreign imported tendencies, automatism and enervating pedantry. It is sufficient to see the children of today trained in a manly way at schools, asylums, campings and alpine and seaside colonies, accustomed to an open air active life and to sport, and observe in this system the exaltation of human personality. And this action extends throughout the complex existence of society by means of institutions in aid of maternity and childhood, by the building of houses for the people and the improvement of unhealthy quarters, by affording help to the unemployed without resorting to the hateful and humiliating forms of old-fashioned charitable relief which is now replaced by the idea of national solidarity and most vast public work undertakings which while improving along modern lines the country afford work to the labouring masses. At the same time, labour legislation, the syndicalist system the collective contract of work and even the Fascist Celebrations in which the Chief is in direct and continued contact with the people afford evidence, through the enthusiastic acclamations of the people them-

selves, that they have complete reliance in what is being done which they approve.

THE ADVENT OF THE PEOPLE

What is the difference between Fascism and Democratic doctrines? « Fascism does not admit that numerical superiority simply as such should rule human society and that the majority should govern by means of periodical consultations, instead, it affirms the irremediable fruitful and beneficial inequality among men who cannot be made equal by means of a mechanical and extrinsic factor like universal suffrage. Democratic regimes are those in which from time to time the people are afforded the illusion that they enjoy sovereign rights, while as a matter of fact the real and efficient sovereignty is vested in other hands sometimes irresponsible and hidden ».

But unless it is admitted that Democracy is fatally linked with certain institutions shaped on the British parliamentary system and instead it is recognized that profoundly democratic historical forms exist that leave to

one side the traditional forms in which usually Democracy is manifested, then it is easy to see that the movement promoted by Mussolini is the creation of a new social and typically democratic system.

After the war Italy was faced by a most serious crisis due to the radical displacement of the social classes. Neither the old Italian social system nor parliamentary institutions were sufficient to hold the great masses in check. It was evident that the new social system had severed all connections with traditional political forms, and the masses had remained practically passive during the Risorgimento and in the country they had been decidedly hostile. The Liberal State formed as a result of the Risorgimento was linked with the classes that had created it especially with the middle-classes. The inevitable struggle against the Church that ended by giving a masonical and anti-clerical character to the Italian State, had prevented the adhesion of the Catholic masses. In other terms the Italian State was regarded by the working classes as being the work and the monopoly of the wealthy.

The working classes regarded the State as

their enemy and never considered it as belonging to them but only to those Liberals who having by now become Conservative defended in their State the interests and the privileges of their classes. Consequently, the masses could only participate in political life as an opposition and since the most resolute opposition against the State was at that time represented by the Socialist Party they naturally joined its ranks. This was the only way through which the people, who had in spirit remained outside the Italian State, could take part in the life of that State. But what were then those masses who gave their votes to the Socialists? Were they animated by subversive intentions or were they not rather the exponents of a new social system that the war has laboriously shaped?

During many years of moral and material improvement and through the economic changes brought about by the war, many and numerous classes of the people had reached such a high state of elevation that they could not tolerate to remain any longer in sterile opposition. The State, for which they had fought during the war, appeared to them as more within their reach than usual.

Especially in the country there were new groups of lower middle-class people that had nothing in common with Socialism and they came forward wishing to contribute something positive and to have their voices heard in the life of the Nation. Socialism that had contributed towards their elevation now represented a peril to them and a permanent menace to their interests in the new positions they had laboriously acquired.

While Socialism had been vaguely based on a sentimental wish towards the elevation of the masses from their abject conditions of poverty it was welcome. But now it had changed into Communism and following the Russian example it threatened to take serious action and follow its programme to the letter.

These masses consequently passed over to Fascism which led the to the conquest of the State and thus interpreted the new social situation.

Fascism thus represented the advent of the Italian people in the Italian State. It is the concluding phase of the Risorgimento and the Italian State now ceased to belong exclusively to the middle-classes especially

of an urban character. The rural character of Fascism, the immense numbers of small owners, lease-holders and peasants on the half share system who joined the colours afford the best evidence of its wonderful process of absorption. As a mass movement it is infinitely more important that the Risorgimento and it is a popular and democratic movement in a more sincere and deeper sense than many democratic parties and regimes.

OVERCOMING SOCIALISM

Fascism is anti-Socialistic owing to its same conception of life in direct antithesis with historical materialism according to which history would only be explained by a conflict of interests: « That economic events such as the discovery of raw materials, new methods of work, scientific inventions, etc., are of great importance is admitted, but that they should explain the history of humanity and exclude all other factors is absurd: Fascism still believes and will always believe in holiness and heroism, namely in

actions without any economic motive, either near or far away ».

It would be a great mistake to consider Fascism as a reaction of private property against Communism, as the mere defence of large and small owners of property, or as the extreme resort of old capitalism. Under many respects, instead, Fascism represents a decided condemnation not of capital but of the capitalistic and plutocratic system. It has powerfully contributed to inculcate in the Italian middle classes a sense of justice towards the labouring classes and it imposed labour problems on public opinion thus destroying most inveterate class prejudices. Its conception of the relations between State and property is the only way to conciliate private initiative with the requirements of society and of modern production.

It is absurd to pretend that the State should take no interest in questions of national production and economy. State intervention in economic questions is nowadays advocated everywhere and it is not conceivable that a State should merely look on and remain indifferent to similar questions. Hence State control follows, but the over-

lordship of the State in economic life does not mean that it should replace private initiative. Fascism, in fact, regards private initiative in the field of production as the most efficient and useful instrument in the interest of the State.

But this very definition and justification of private initiative also implies its limitations. The private organisation of production is defined as a function of national interest, therefore the «organisation of enterprise», to use the terms of the VII Declaration of the Labour Charter, is responsible towards the State for the trend of production.

But this definition also explains the position of the State which only intervenes when private initiative is either lacking or insufficient, or when the political interests of the State are at stake. As a rule the Fascist State does not assume the direct management of production and therefore it opposes not only the complicated communistic system that breaks up and chokes initiative and removes from economic life the efforts of private enterprise, but it is also against various forms of ex-cathedra Socialism that

uphold a progressive absorption of enterprises by the State.

The conception of property is consequently sensibly modified. Even in the past the State did not recognize the absolute right of ownership inasmuch as it reserved to itself expropriation and requisition rights and these violations were motivated by external and contingent necessities. Now, instead, it is only the abuse of ownership that provokes State intervention. A landed proprietor, for instance, cannot leave his soil uncultivated, the owner of a factory cannot abandon it or close it up for a whim; he is responsible not only towards the human beings who depend upon the factory but also towards national economy and therefore towards the State. Similarly an employer not only cannot violate a labour contract just the same as the labourer has no right to upset economic life by means of strikes, but he cannot at will impose an unjust collective contract of labour. This delicate and complex matter has been withdrawn from the play of demand and supply and from individual impositions and it has

been entrusted to syndicalistic and corporative organs and as a last resort, to the Labour Tribunal, a State organ and therefore supreme in the economic field.

It is not necessary to examine in detail the social policy of the Fascist regime. It suffices to point out the fact that, while excluding class warfare and its customary methods, such as strikes and lockouts, Fascism recognises the necessity and usefulness of Labour syndicates. But also in this case Fascist dialectic intervenes and as a logical result just as the individual and ownership denied as a reality in themselves and therefore anarchical are preserved and elevated to a higher dignity in the State, in the same way the Labour union is not allowed as an outside group hostile to the State but it is raised to the dignity of a positive element of national life and as such officially recognised by the State. Labour syndicalism, the institution of which is free, as it has not an obligatory character, secures the juridical representation of the interests of the category forming it. The State intervenes in labour questions only indirectly inasmuch as it recognises the exclusive right on the part of

juridically constituted associations to negotiate in the name of the categories that belong to them. It is only when negotiations between the representatives of the employers and those of the labourers are not successfully concluded that the State intervenes, but not in the role of mediator but in that of a judge, and the sentence of its Tribunal takes into consideration not only the equity of the requests made by both parties but also the general interests of national economy.

If the syndicalist system aims at the solution of the social question and at the elimination of the serious and most damaging labour conflicts, the cooperative system has the object of increasing the power of national economy by coordinating it. Cooperation unites the representatives of all the categories interested in a particular branch of production and as it is a State organ, its rules, after having been sanctioned by the Head of the Government, have the validity of laws.

In all modern States the necessity of direct contacts between the factors of production and the government is urgently felt. The Fascist Government also in this case has taken an advanced position by creating a na-

tional economic council, namely, the National Council of Corporations, that in economic matters represents, so to speak the General Staff of the Government and it embraces all the energies and all the interests of the Nation.

RELATIONS WITH THE CHURCH.

The relations with the Church form a most original aspect of the Fascist Government. We do not intend here to go over the history of the Roman Question nor that of the settlement of the conflict by means of the Lateran Pacts, or to deal with the polemics provoked by those Pacts and which contributed to define the reciprocal position of the two Powers. Fascism was able to settle the Roman Question because since its advent it had followed with energy a policy intended to restore the value of religion. It did this not only on account of its sensibility towards the spiritual factors of life, but also owing to its character of totality in a movement that insisted upon including within its ranks all the Italian people and could not, therefore,

resign itself to leave outside and hostile the vast masses of Catholics. Also under this aspect Fascism is the conclusive phase of the Risorgimento.

Fascism reaffirmed the principle laid down in Art. I. of the Statute according to which the Catholic Religion is the only religion of the State. However, while the State assigned to the Catholic Church a particularly favourable juridical position both as regards the tradition it represents and on account of the fact that the great majority of the Italian people profess it, still, the Fascist State has not, as a result, become a confessional State. Other professions of faith are not simply « tolerated » as stated in the Statute, but allowed and juridically safeguarded. The principle of separation between Church and State, as it was intended in the old Liberal doctrines, presupposed the idea of the Church as a private association and of religion as a question of individual conscience. But a similar idea savoured of Protestantism and therefore offended the Catholic conscience of the Italian people. Fascism, instead, made a clear distinction between the two Powers and the functions

each was called to perform. While proclaiming the State as the highest human idea on earth, Fascism has clearly affirmed that Divinity stands above humanity and it did not even attempt to impose a religious policy as the old absolute governments did, nor did it exploit religion as an instrument of government. It shows the utmost respect for the forms of religious devotion but at the same time it is most jealous of its own prerogatives and of its own sovereignty and does not tolerate any violation from the limits recognized to the Church and freely accepted by it. No deviation of a confessional character can be charged against Fascism which far from imposing a profession of Catholic faith has the utmost deference for the dignity and the sublimity of religious life which cannot be brought about by public coercion but is the result of free and intimate conviction.

(Translated by P. R. M.)

The Islam Series

GENERAL EDITOR

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AL-GHAZALI



AL-GHAZALI

BY THE
REV. W. R. W. GARDNER, M.A.

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CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
I. BIOGRAPHY	1
II. HIS RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCES ...	30
III. AL-GHAZALI'S THEOLOGICAL POSITION.	47
IV. AL-GHAZALI AS SUFI	64
V. AL-GHAZALI AS THINKER AND EX- POSITOR	86
APPENDIX	105

CHAPTER I

BIOGRAPHY

MUḤAMMAD bin Muḥammad bin Muḥammad bin Aḥmad Eṭ-Ṭúsí, better known to later generations as Abú Hámid Al-Ghazálí was born in the year A.H. 450 (A.D. 1058) in one of the townships of the district of Ṭús in the province of Khurásán in Persia.¹

¹ The province of Khurásán contained several districts ; the principal of these were Juwayn, Quhastán, Baghshúr, Marw, Ṭús, Bayhaq, Baharz. Naysabúr (Nishapúr) was the capital of the province. (*Subḥ al-A'sha*, vol. iv, p. 389 f., Government Press, Cairo, 1914.) That Ṭús was a district is clear not only from the above, but from the use of the word *kuwar* (districts) used by the author of the *Qánún*, quoted by Al-Qalqashandí (id. p. 390, last line of the page) as well as from the statement of Yaqút, who calls it a province (wiláya). (Yaqút, vol. xiii, p. 327). That there was also a town of the name of Ṭús is, of course, true. In another passage, Yaqút quotes Al-Biládhuri (d. A.H. 279) as saying, Khurásán is four quarters. The first is Irán Shahr, which includes Naysabúr, and Quhastán, and At-Tabasán, and Herát, and Bushanj, and Badghis, and Ṭús (and its name is Tábarán). (Yaqút, vol. iv, p. 408.) The district of Ṭús contained four towns, Radkán, Tábarán, Bazdghur, and Nawqán, (Yaqút gives the spelling as Núqán) and more than 1,000 villages. (See Yaqút, quoting Mis'ár bin Mukhalḥil, vol. vi, p. 7. Ibn Khallikán, vol. i, p. 29. Jackson, *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam*, p. 267, 284 ff.) Of these four towns, Tábarán was the capital, while Nawqán was the most populous. It was outside of

According to a statement attributed to a grandson of Abu Hámid, Al-Ghazálí was not born in the town of Tús (Tábarán) itself, but in one of the villages of this district, called Ghazála.¹ It is commonly believed, however, that he was born at Tús (Tábarán).

As far as we know, the elder Al-Ghazálí had only two sons, Muḥammad, of whom we write, and Aḥmad, who was Muḥammad's junior. He also had daughters; but we know neither their names nor their number.² Of Al-Ghazálí's mother we know nothing beyond the fact that she survived her husband and lived to see both of her sons famous at Baghdad, whither apparently she accompanied or followed them. An interesting story is

Nawqán that 'Alí bin Músá ar-Riḍá and Haroun Ar-Rashíd were buried. Thus, the present Meshed represents the old Nawqán, and must cover some at least of the site of that city; while the ruins now known as Tús represent the old city of Tábarán, which, having been the capital of the district, was commonly called by the name of the district. It was outside Tábarán that Al-Ghazálí and Firdausi were buried. It is a mistake to regard Tús as having been a metropolis containing four boroughs. That there ever existed a city of Tús stretching thirty-five miles, from Meshed to Radkán, is incredible. As-Sam'ání, in the *Kitábu'l-Ansáb*, says that Tús contained two towns and over one thousand villages. When he speaks of visiting the place he uses the expression 'Núqán Tús' (there was another Núqán near Naysabúr; see Yaqút, under title Núqán). The interesting point is that apparently he did not know of a city of Tús.

¹ Sayyid Murtaḍá, p. 18.

² Aḥmad, the younger brother, also became famous, and, when his brother left Baghdad in A.H. 488, succeeded him in the Nazámíya school; but he inclined rather to preaching, in which he excelled. He travelled much, and like his elder brother, served Šúfíism, and finally died at Qazwín in A.H. 520.

told of how when Abú Hámid was at the height of his fame at Baghdad, his brother Aḥmad not merely failed to show him proper respect, but acted in such a manner as to discredit him in the eyes of the people. The full account is worth quoting. He had a brother called Aḥmad, surnamed Jamál ed-Dín,¹ who, notwithstanding the high rank which his brother held, would not take part with him in the prayers (i.e. would not recognize him as a man fitted to lead in the public prayers) even while thousands of the commonality and the nobility ranged themselves in ranks behind him. So he complained to his mother of what he experienced at the hands of his brother (saying), that it almost led the people to doubt him, seeing that his brother was celebrated for his good conduct and piety; and he asked his mother to order him (Aḥmad) to treat him as other people did. He complained about this repeatedly and pressed his demand. His mother urged him (Aḥmad) time and again to agree to this, and he agreed on condition that he stand apart from the ranks. The Imám accepted this condition; and when one of the appointed times of prayer arrived, the Imám went to the mosque and the people followed him, till, when the Imám began the prayer, and the people began it after him, Jamál ed-Dín followed him in the prayer at a distance. And while they were praying, Jamál ed-Dín suddenly interrupted him. So this trial was worse than the first. And when he was asked the reason (of his conduct) he

¹ Or as others say Zayn ed-Dín, *Tabaqát*, vol. ii, p. 55.

replied that it was impossible for him to take as his pattern an Imám whose heart was full of blood, indicating by this expression the vileness of one who took a share in the work of worldly men of learning.¹

I think we may infer from this story that Abú Hámid was his mother's favourite.

The two brothers, while still young, lost their father. The latter was a poor but devout man, who supported his family by the spinning of wool. He had never been able to learn to write, and we may conclude that neither could he read. Nevertheless he associated with theologians and attended their meetings for discourse and discussion. When nearing his end, he confided his two young boys to the care of a friend, a devout Šúfí, whose name, unfortunately, has not come down to us, enjoining on him to spend the little fortune he left in educating them that they might be able to attain a position such as he himself had desired but had failed to reach.

This friend faithfully carried out the father's wishes, and started the boys in that course of study which led them both in after years to honour, and which, in the case of Abú Hámid, made him one of the leading figures in the whole history of muslim theology.

How old Al-Ghazálí was when his father died, we do not know; but from the terms which the biographers employ, we may fairly deduce that he was still quite young; for it was from their Šúfí guardian himself that the two boys learned to write.

¹ Mishkát al-Anwár, Matba'as-Sidq, Cairo 1322, p. 61.

The guardian, however, was a poor man, and the time came when the small inheritance left by their father was spent. The interval between their father's death and the exhaustion of their inheritance was apparently sufficiently long to have made it possible for the boys to progress considerably in their studies. Having, then, no means of support, on the advice of their guardian they sought and found admittance to one of the Madrasas in Tús.¹ The incident is thus told by As-Subkí.² 'And when he (the father) died, the Şúfí began to teach them till the small means which he had left them was exhausted, and the Şúfí was unable to continue to support them. So he said to them, "Know that I have spent upon you what was (left) to you, and I am myself a man who has kept himself from the affairs of this world, so that I have no fortune of which I can give you a share. And, as far as I can see, the best thing you can do is to find shelter in some school; for you are seekers of knowledge (theological students), and you will get food on which you can depend during your lives." So they did this.'

The two lads, then, having enrolled in one of the schools of Tús, studied under Sheikh 'Alí Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Ar-Radhakání.³ Under this Sheikh, Abú Hámíd continued his studies for some time. While we

¹ From As-Subkí we learn that Madrasas existed before the days of Nizám al-Mulk. He adds, however, that he is strongly of the opinion that the latter was the first to establish appointments for the support of the students. *Tabaqát*, vol. iii, p. 137.

² *Tabaqát*, vol. iii, p. 102.

³ As-Subkí thus spells the name. *Tabaqát*, vol. iii, p. 136.

have no means of reckoning exactly the time thus spent, we know that some years must have passed, and apparently his love of knowledge began to manifest itself even at this early period of his life.

We next find him at Jurján¹ whither he went to continue his course of study under Abú Naṣr Al-Ismá'ílí. It must have been no light undertaking for the youthful scholar to travel from Tús to Jurján, a journey of ten or eleven days through unsettled country; and it throws light on the independence of his character and on his ambition that he made the venture. Yet, he was but following the example of many of his contemporaries; for Tús, in these early days, was noted as the birthplace of many who wandered far in search of learning, and rose to honour and fame. Why Al-Ghazálí went so far from home, when Naysabúr was only two or three days' journey distant, we can only conjecture. It may be that he already was feeling the irksomeness of the fetters of taqlíd,² and desired to get away from Khurásán to see whether such methods of teaching were general.

Of the lectures of Abú Naṣr he took copious notes, but failed to assimilate what he heard, and make it his own. With these precious notes he set out on his homeward journey to his native town of Tús; and on the way he

¹ Jurján was the chief town of Mazadarán, a district lying north-west of Khurásán, and between Tabarastán and Khuwarazm. *Subh al-A'sha*, vol. iv, p. 367.

² By taqlíd is meant the acceptance of dogma, method of argument, or practice, on the mere ground of human authority without any proof of its truth or reasonableness.

had an adventure from which he was to learn a lesson of as great value to him as all his previous studies. Somewhere on the journey he was set upon by robbers who took everything he had. Let us hear his own account of the incident. It is given on the authority of Imám As'ad Al-Mayhaní and of Nizám Al-Mulk. 'We were set upon on the way, and the robbers took everything I had and went off. But I followed them, and the chief turned to me and said, "Turn back, or you will perish." But I said, "I beg you by Him from whom you hope for salvation, that you give me back only my notes, for they will do you no good." He said, "What are your notes?" I replied, "The books in that bag. I left my country to hear them, and write them, and learn their knowledge." Thereupon, he laughed and said, "How can you pretend to have learned their knowledge, when I have taken them and stripped you of your learning so that you have no knowledge?" Then he gave orders to one of his companions, and he handed over the bag to me.'¹ The robber chief was evidently as ready with his tongue as with his sword.

The lesson which Al-Ghazálí learned through this experience was one he never forgot. In the *Munqidh*, we have his own statement that when he studied, later, the theories of the philosophers; the methods of the Mutakallimín, or the ways of the Šúfis, he pondered over them, and was not satisfied till he had gained a thorough grasp of them all.

¹ *Tabaqát*, vol. iv, p. 103.

On returning to Tús, he commenced at once committing to memory the notes which he had written at Jurján, realizing that till he had assimilated the teaching and made it his very own, he could not be said to know it. This occupied him, as he tells us, three years. Whether he spent more than these three years at Tús, at this time, we do not know; but it was probably during this stay in his native town that he studied Šúfiism under the guidance of Yúsuf An-Nassáj.

We see him next at Naysabúr, attending the lectures of the famous Imám Al-Ḥaramayn¹ as well as those of the celebrated Šúfi teacher Al-Faramdhí.² He was soon recognized as a brilliant scholar, and along with Al-Kiyá' and Aḥmad Al-Khawáfí was a favourite pupil of the Imám. It is related that the latter in describing and comparing the three said, 'Al-Ghazálí is a sea to drown in,³ Al-Kiyá' is a tearing lion, and Al-Khawáfí is a burning fire.'⁴ Another reported saying of the Imám

¹ For a long account of Al-Ḥaramayn, see *Ṭabaqát*, vol. iii, pp. 249-280.

² As-Subkí says, on the authority of As-Sam'ání, that the name was spelled thus, though he also mentions the other form Al-Faramadhí. *Ṭabaqát*, vol. iv, pp. 9, 10.

³ As-Subkí reads *Mughdiq*, inexhaustible, instead of *Mughriq*. *Ṭabaqát*, vol. iv, p. 103. See also vol. iv, p. 106, and the expression *bahr la yunzaf* in vol. iv, p. 104.

⁴ Ibn Khallikán says of Al-Kiyá', that he was loud voiced, an eloquent speaker; that in his discourses he was great on tradition, and is reported to have said, 'If the horsemen of tradition enter the battle-fields, the heads of analogy fly in the wind.' Of Al-Khawáfí, he says that he was a famous disputant, noted for his power of silencing his opponent.

Al-Ḥaramayn about these three is, 'When they contend together, the examination and proof (at-taḥqíq) belongs to Al-Khawáfí, the hypotheses and conjectures (al-hadsíyyát)¹ belongs to Al-Ghazálí, and the clear exposition (al-bayán) belongs to Al-Kiyá'.²

Yet while the Imám had a very high opinion of the abilities of Al-Ghazálí and outwardly spoke of him with praise, it is said that at heart he was somewhat jealous of him. There is no need to think that it was Al-Ghazálí's wide and extensive learning which caused the Imám to feel this touch of jealousy towards his brilliant pupil; rather, I think, must we look for the explanation of the Imám's feelings to Al-Ghazálí's independence of thought and his contempt for all 'authorities', together with his absolute self-reliance, and the disdain which he was wont to show for those who could not at times see the force of his arguments.³

As we have already seen, we have no clear data from which we can determine the exact year in which Al-Ghazálí went to Naysabúr; so we do not know how many years he spent there. What we do know is that while he resided at Naysabúr, he studied, he taught, he wrote, and he disputed, making for himself a place among the learned men of his day.

In the year A.H. 478, Imám Al-Ḥaramayn died. After his death, Al-Ghazálí quitted Naysabúr, and

¹ This is the reading of As-Subkí, instead of Sayyid Murtaḍá's harbíyyát, warlike attacks.

² *Ṭabaqát*, vol. iv, p. 106.

³ See *Ṭabaqát*, vol. iv, pp. 107 and 108.

betook himself to the camp of the Sultán Malik Sháh, where Nizám Al-Mulk, the famous organiser of educational institutions and patron of learning was to be found. From him he might expect assistance, seeing that the famous minister was himself a native of Tús, and might therefore be expected to be ready to do what he could for a compatriot of such great abilities.

From Ibn Al-Athír, we know that the Sultán Malik Sháh, returning from his conquests, entered Baghdad for the first time in A.H. 479, and remained there till 480, when he went to Ispahán. In A.H. 482, he went to Khurásán, where he gathered an army for the conquest of Samarqand. He conquered and settled the country, and returned to Khurásán; but in the very same year he was obliged to turn his steps again to Samarqand, for a revolt had already broken out. After this second expedition, he again returned to Khurásán. In A.H. 483 the Imám Abú Abdallah Aṭ-Ṭabarí arrived at Baghdad with an official letter from Nizám Al-Mulk, having been appointed by the latter a teacher in the Nizámíyya Madrasa there; and a few months later, he was followed by Abú Muḥammad Abd Al-Wahháb Ash-Shirází with a similar letter of appointment. In Ramaḍán A.H. 484, the Sultán Malik Sháh returned to Baghdad, not having visited the city since 480; and it was in the same year (484) that Al-Ghazálí came to the Nizámíyya Madrasa at the invitation of Nizám Al-Mulk. It is natural to suppose that he accompanied the minister or followed him after a very brief interval.

It would appear, then, that Al-Ghazálí's visit to the camp of Nizám Al-Mulk took place sometime between the beginning of A.H. 482 and Ramaḍán 484, and the year 482 or the year 483 we may, therefore, safely put down as the time when he left Naysabúr and sought the favour of his fellow-countryman.

It is interesting to note in passing, that Nizám Al-Mulk himself, in his earlier years, studied law (fiqh) and tradition at Tús, and apparently he never lost his interest in theological discussion and controversy. Even his camp in Khurásán, where he was gathering the army for the conquest of Samarqand, was the rendezvous of theologians and the scene of their disputations.

Al-Ghazálí did not long enjoy the patronage of this enlightened administrator; for in the following year A.H. (485) Nizám Al-Mulk had again to go eastwards, accompanying the Sultán to Ispahán. While they were returning to Baghdad, and were near Nahawand, the great minister was treacherously assassinated by a Bátiní youth on the tenth of Muḥarram of the same year. It is reported that the assassination was committed at the instigation of the Sultán himself, as he was jealous of his minister's power and influence.

Abú Hámid remained in Baghdad till A.H. 488, lecturing, writing, giving out fetwas (decisions on points of jurisprudence or theology). His lectures in the Madrasa drew large numbers of students; he himself tells us that they were attended by 300 students. At the same time he was privately studying philosophy, and reconsidering his own position and his manner of life.

In Dhú'l-Qa'da,¹ A.H. 488, he left Baghdaḍ and went to Syria.²

It is difficult to determine the chronology of the 'retirement' of Al-Ghazálí during the next eleven years of his life.

Let us first hear the stories on which we must depend for our knowledge of how these years were spent, and see whether it is possible to reconcile them with one another and form a fairly definite opinion as to Al-Ghazálí's movements and manner of life during this most important period of his career.

The following summary of Al-Ghazálí's own statement in the *Munqidh*, we take from Professor Macdonald's article on Al-Ghazálí in the Journal of the American Oriental Society.³ 'He betook himself to Syria, and remained there almost two years, living in strict retirement and giving all his time to the religious exercises of the Šúfís with prayer and meditation.'⁴ While at Damascus he used to go up to the minaret of the mosque, shut the door upon himself, and there pass his days. From Damascus he went to Jerusalem and shut himself up similarly in the Dome of the Rock. Now he began to feel himself drawn to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. It had been under pretence of a pilgrimage that

¹ As-Subkí says Dhú'l-Hijja. *Ṭabaqát*, vol. iv, p. 104.

² For the circumstances which led to this flight, see Chapter viii.

³ Vol. xx, pp. 92, 93.

⁴ The comma after the word *years* should be omitted. Al-Ghazálí does not mean to say that he spent only about two years in Syria, but that he spent about two years in Syria in complete retirement.

he had stolen away from Baghdad and fled to Damascus ; but apparently at that time he could not bring himself to such a step. Whether he felt himself too unclean, or his religious faith was too uncertain, might be hard to settle ; at any rate it was only now, after long meditation and discipline, that he at length performed the culminating act of the religious life of a Muslim. From Jerusalem he went to Hebron to visit the grave of Abraham, Al-Khalil, the Friend of God, and thence to the Hijáz and Mecca and Madína. . . . In spite of his former resolution to retire from the world, he was drawn back. The prayers of his children and his own aspirations broke in upon him, and though he resolved again and again to return to the contemplative life, and did actually do so, yet events, family affairs, and the anxieties of life, kept continually disturbing him. This went on, he tells us, for almost ten years, and in that time there were revealed to him things that could not be reckoned and the discussion of which could not be exhausted.'

To this must be added what we learn from another part of the *Munqidh*. Here¹ he tells us that after spending about ten years in retirement he began to consider the conditions prevailing around him. The view he gives us of Muslim society shows that there was enough to sadden his heart. He found that faith was weak and lukewarm ; that the practices of religion, as commanded in the Qur'án, were neglected ; and that this neglect

¹ *Munqidh*, p. 37 ff.

was very general. People pointed to famous learned men who paid no attention to the precepts of the religion which they professed, and they claimed that, if the practices of religion were binding, these men would be the first to fulfil them. The example of the learned afforded an excuse to the common people to neglect religion. Some of these learned men never prayed, others drank wine, others robbed the religious endowments of which they had charge, or in other ways lived evil lives. Bribery of both judges and witnesses was common. Even among the Šúfis, religious practices were neglected on the plea that a stage had been attained in which these were unnecessary. When Al-Ghazálí saw all this, and believed that he knew the cure for it, he felt, so he tells us, that he ought to leave his retirement and come out again into the world, and take up the work of a reformer. But the more he considered the matter, the surer he felt that all his efforts in this direction would be in vain unless he had the support of a truly religious ruler, and one who would *use force* when necessary. At this very time, when he was pondering over things, God, he says, stirred up the ruler of the time to take action. Without naming him¹ he tells us how he summoned him to Naysabúr.² Fakhr Al-Mulk, the then vizier, approached him,

¹ It must have been Mustadhbir. See Macdonald's article 'Al-Ghazálí' in the *Encyclopædia of Islám*.

² Abd Al-Gháfír, quoted by As-Subkí, tells us that it was actually Fakhr Al-Mulk who summoned him after having made enquiries about him. *Tabaqát*, vol. iv, p. 108.

and not merely asked but importuned him to come out of his retirement and undertake the work of teaching at Naysabúr. At first, notwithstanding his own personal inclinations, he hesitated, but finally, after consultation with a body of Şúfis who advised him to accept the invitation to teach at the Nizámíyya Madrasa, he acquiesced and went. It was, he says, in Dhú'l-Qa'da A.H. 499 that he left Tús and went to Naysabúr. And he adds that as he left Baghdad in Dhú'l-Qa'da A.H. 488, his retirement lasted exactly eleven years.

So much for Al-Ghazálí's own account of these years. It is, however, far from being complete. For instance, we know from the *Munqidh*¹ that he resided in, or at least visited, Hamadán; for he mentions that one of his books was written in answer to a question which was put to him in Hamadán.

Let us look next at what Ibn Al-Athír, the historian, says. We take him here because his statement is brief and in a general way accords closely with Al-Ghazálí's own outline of this period of his life.

He says:² 'In this year (A.H. 488) the Imám Abú Hámid Al-Ghazálí went to Syria and visited Jerusalem, and left off teaching at the Nizámíyya, and left his brother to take his place, and gave himself to devotion, and wore coarse clothing, and ate poor food. And in this journey he composed the *Ihyá' 'Ulúmí'd-Dín*, and many people heard it from him in Damascus, and he returned

¹ p. 26.

² Vol. x, p. 104.

to Baghdad after performing the pilgrimage in the following year (489), and went to Khurásán.¹

For what remains we must turn to As-Subkí.²

'He left all that' (fame, glory, advancement, etc.), says As-Subkí, 'behind his back and set out for the Sacred House of God³ and set out on the pilgrimage⁴ in Dhú'l-Hijja⁵ A.H. 488, leaving his brother to teach in his place; and he entered Damascus in 489, and spent a short time in it as a devotee. Then he went to Jerusalem and sojourned in it some time, then he returned to Damascus and sought seclusion in the western minaret of the mosque, residing in it, as Adh-Dhahabí mentions, quoting from Ibn Al-'Asákir, though I have not found it

¹ It is to be noted that though it is usually supposed that Ibn Al-Athír states that Al-Ghazálí returned to Baghdad in A.H. 489 what he actually says is that he performed the pilgrimage in 489 and then returned to Baghdad, without saying how long after his pilgrimage this was. The phrase 'in the following year' dates the pilgrimage, but does not necessarily date the return to Baghdad.

² We take As-Subkí in preference to the Sayyid Murtaḍá, as our authority, because in the part of the latter's article dealing with this period of Al-Ghazálí's life, the Sayyid is almost wholly dependent on As-Subkí whom he quotes profusely, and often in such a way as to lead one to take certain comments as his own, which are simply quotations from As-Subkí. For instance, on page 4 we read, 'And I have not found it in his writings.' Professor Macdonald (p. 99) naturally takes this as a remark of the Sayyid Murtaḍá; but it is really a part of the quotation from As-Subkí.

³ Wa qasada bayta 'Ilahí'l-harama. Abd Al-Gháfir wrote, 'wa qasada bayta 'Iláhi wa ḥajja.' *Ṭabaqát*, vol. iv, p. 107.

⁴ Wa kharaja fi'l-ḥajji.

⁵ So this edition reads; but Sayyid Murtaḍá, quoting him, reads, 'Dhú'l-Qa'da,' and this is correct according to Al-Ghazálí himself in the *Munqidh*.

in his writings. And Al-Ghazálí used to sit a great deal in the corner (záwiya) of Sheikh Naṣr Al-Maqdisí, in the Umawí Jámí' which is known to-day on this account as the Ghazálí záwiya.¹ It was known before this as the záwiya of Sheikh Naṣr Al-Maqdisí. Ibn Al-'Asákir says that Al-Ghazálí stayed in Syria nearly ten years, so quotes Adh-Dhahabí, but I have not found it in the writings of Ibn Al-'Asákir, neither in his history of Damascus, nor in the Tabyín.² And many stories are told of him ; for example, that he wished to meet Sheikh Naṣr, but entered Damascus only on the day of his death. By chance he entered the Jámí', wearing the garments of a faqír, and happened to sit down in the záwiya referred to ; and after a little, a number of students came and took part with him in theological conversation³ after they had observed him carefully, and taken a good look at him ; and they found him an inexhaustible sea. He said to them, What has happened to Sheikh Naṣr Al-Maqdisí ? They said, He has died, and we have just come back from his burial ; and when he was about to die, we asked him, Who will succeed you in your circle ? He replied, " When you have finished burying me, return to the záwiya, and you will find a Sheikh, a Persian (and he described you to us). Salute him in my name, he

¹ For a biography of Al-Maqdisí, see *Ṭabaqát*, vol. iv, p. 27.

² As-Subkí later makes a verbatim quotation from 'Abd Al-Gháfir as to the length of time spent by Al-Ghazálí in his wanderings. The quotation is, ' Then he entered Syria and stayed in these countries ten years, wandering round and visiting the great shrines.' *Ṭabaqát*, vol. iv, p. 107.

³ Wa shárákúhu fí'l-'ulúmi.

will be my successor." And I (Al-Subkí) regard the story as unauthentic ; the death of Sheikh Naşr took place in A.H. 490 ; and if it be true, the incident probably occurred on his (Al-Ghazálí's) return to Damascus from Jerusalem. And if it be not true, it is possible that he met him when he entered Damascus in 489, a year before the death of Naşr. Adh-Dhahabí states plainly that Al-Ghazálí sat with (jálasa) Naşr. But I (As-Subkí) say that the person whom Naşr Al-Maqdisí named as his successor was Nasrallah Al-Masisi, one of his pupils.¹

' Another story,' says As-Subkí, ' is that when he entered it (Damascus) wearing the garments of a faqír, he sat down at the door of the Samisatíyya Khanqah, until an unknown faqír admitted him. And he began to sweep the ablution tanks belonging to the Khanqah, and to act as a servant in it. And it happened that one day he sat down in the court of the Umawí Jámí', and a number of muftis were walking back and fore in the court ; and suddenly a countryman came to them and asked them to give him a fetwa ; and they did not answer him. Al-Ghazálí was looking on, and when he saw that no one had an answer for him, feeling it hard that he should be without guidance, he called him and gave him an answer. The villager began to mock him and say, " If the muftis could not answer me, how can this common faqír give me an answer ? " The muftis were looking on, and when he finished talking with him, they called the villager and asked him, " What did this

¹ *Tabaqát*, vol. iv, p. 104.

common man say to you ? ” So he explained the matter to them ; and they came to him (Al-Ghazálí) and became acquainted with him, and stood around him, and asked him to appoint a sitting (majlis) with them, and he promised (to meet) them the next day ; but he set off (left the city) that very night.’¹

‘Another story’, to quote again from As-Subkí, ‘is that he happened to go one day into the Amína Madrasa and found the teacher, as he was teaching, saying, “Al-Ghazálí says”. And Al-Ghazálí was afraid that he might become self-conceited, so he left Damascus’² and began to wander from town to town ; and he went to Cairo (Misr), and from there to Alexandria, and stayed in it some time. And it is said that he intended to go to the Sultán Yúsuf bin Tashfín, the Sultán of the West, because of what he had heard of his justice. But he heard of his death³ and continued to wander through the countries, and visit the shrines, and go round the cemeteries and mosques, and take refuge in the deserts, and exercised himself in devotional exercises. . . . Then he returned to Baghdad and held a majlis in which he preached and spoke about the Şúfis (ahlu’l-haqqa), and lectured on the Iḥyá’. . . . And ‘Abd Āl-Gháfír says that

¹ *Ṭabaqát*, vol. iv, p. 104.

² Professor Macdonald says (p. 98) : ‘This story cannot be true as it stands, for that Madrasa was not founded till 514.’

³ Professor Macdonald says (p. 100) of this story : ‘That Al-Ghazálí should have been prevented from setting out for Yúsuf b. Tashfín in 500 by the report of the death of the latter is impossible, as we have seen. that he was summoned to teach at Naysabúr by Fakhr Al-Mulk, who was assassinated in the first month of 500.’

Al-Ghazálí then returned to Khurásán, and taught in the Nizámíyya Madrasa at Naysabúr for a short time, while his whole heart was attached to what had been opened up to him of the way. Then he returned to the city of Tús, and chose beside his house a Madrasa for students of law (fuqahá), and a Khanqah for the Şúfis, and spent his time in various duties.¹

It is unnecessary to follow As-Subkí any further for the present. We have seen enough for our purpose, which is to gather as many details as possible from the various writers and, if possible, weave them into a connected narrative. We must note, however, that As-Subkí depends very largely on 'Abd Al-Gháfir, who was a contemporary of Al-Ghazálí and a personal acquaintance of his. He was born in A.H. 451, being thus only one year younger than Abú Hámid, and he studied also under Imám Al-Haramayn at Naysabúr, where he had every opportunity of knowing Al-Ghazálí well. He met Al-Ghazálí on the return of the latter to Khurásán, and frequently visited him. It is possible that he was the 'brother in the faith' to whom the *Munqidh* is addressed; for he says, 'then we asked him how it was that he desired to leave his house and return to what he had been called upon to undertake in the matter of Naysabúr.'² 'Abd Al-Gháfir died in A.H. 529.

We have already noted that Al-Ghazálí's own statement in the *Munqidh* makes no pretence of being a complete account of the years which were spent in Syria and

¹ *Tabaqát*, vol. iv, p. 105.

² *Ibid.*, p. 109.

elsewhere after leaving Baghdad ; and that the period of 'almost two years' of which he speaks cannot be taken as limiting the length of the time during which he resided or wandered in Syria and elsewhere.

We cannot doubt the story that he taught in Damascus, and it is most probable that he taught the *Ihyá'* there. 'Abd Al-Gháfir tells us that it was written during these years, and Ibn Al-Athír states that many heard it from him at Damascus. Further, it is difficult to explain the fact mentioned by 'Abd Al-Gháfir, that the *záwiya* formerly known as the *záwiya* of Sheikh Naṣr, was afterwards known as the *záwiya* of Al-Ghazálí, except on the supposition that he taught there. The stories of Al-Ghazálí's connexion with Damascus can have arisen only on a basis of historical fact, though some of them, in themselves, are more than suspicious.

Now, if he taught in Damascus, it cannot have been during the first two years after leaving Baghdad ; for he himself tells us that these two years were spent in 'strict retirement, and giving all his time to the religious exercises of the *Ṣúfís* with prayer and contemplation.' We must, therefore, conclude that he did spend more than two years in Syria and the neighbouring lands. That this conclusion does not really clash with the account of Ibn Al-Athír, we have already seen ; for the latter does not say how long Al-Ghazálí was absent from Baghdad after he performed the pilgrimage in the year 489. How Al-Ghazálí spent the years between 489 and the year of his return to Baghdad, does not concern Ibn Al-Athír, and he therefore passes them over in silence.

From 'Abd Al-Gháfir, who was, as we have seen, a contemporary and a personal friend of Al-Ghazálí, we hear that Abú Hámid spent *about ten years* in Syria and neighbouring lands, and 'Abd Al-Gháfir had every opportunity of knowing the truth; for he says that he visited Al-Ghazálí *frequently* after his return to Naysabúr.

Were it possible to consult the *Ansáb* of Ibn As-Sam'ání (d. 562), we might find further light, but it is doubtful whether he could tell us much more than does 'Abd Al-Gháfir, and as As-Subkí adds to his own biography of Abú Hámid what he says is a verbatim and complete extract of what 'Abd Al-Gháfir wrote about Al-Ghazálí. Seeing, then, that he states that Al-Ghazálí spent about ten years in Syria and the neighbouring lands, and seeing, further, that this statement does not really clash with what Al-Ghazálí himself has written, nor with what Ibn Al-Athír says, we may take it as true.

We conclude, then, that Al-Ghazálí arrived at Damascus from Baghdad in A.H. 489, as As-Subkí states to have been the case. Here he may have met Sheikh Naşr Al-Maqdisi, as As-Subkí further suggests, for he tells us that Adh-Dhahabi clearly states that Al-Ghazálí *sat with* Naşr. The story of his entering Damascus on the day on which Sheikh Naşr died is to be rejected unless it be ascribed to the time of Al-Ghazálí's return to Damascus from Jerusalem. If Al-Ghazálí indeed sat with Naşr, he must have done so during the time that he was still leading the life of

BIOGRAPHY

a dervish, retired from public teaching and controversy.¹

In Syria, Al-Ghazálí spent about two years as a faqír, during which time falls his residence in Damascus and retirement to the minaret of the Umawí Jámí'; his visit to Jerusalem, where he used to retire to the Dome of the Rock; his visit to Hebron, and his pilgrimage to the holy cities in the Hijáz; as well as a further period of retired life, spent we know not with certainty where, but we may suppose that it was at Damascus. That he returned to Syria from the Hijáz may be taken as certain; for none of the accounts of his life suggest that he wandered across Arabia to Baghdad.²

¹ It was probably at this period of his life that he read what he calls 'the Injíl of Jesus'. In the *Risálatu Ayyuhá'l-Walad* (vol. i of the collection, p. 102) he says, 'I saw in the Injíl of Jesus (on whom be peace) that he said that from the time that the dead body is placed on the bier to the time it is placed on the edge of the grave, God Himself asks him forty questions.' It is very evident that what he had read was some apocryphical gospel, if it was a 'gospel' at all; and one cannot but lose oneself in conjecture as to what might have happened if Al-Ghazálí had come across one of the canonical gospels, for he was at this time above all things seeking light.

² The return to Syria after the pilgrimage and his continued residence there, may be the explanation of the statement of 'Abd Al-Gháfír, that he set out from Baghdad, went on pilgrimage, and then went to Syria (*fa kharaja 'amma kana fíhi wa qaṣada bayta 'Iláhi wa ḥajja thumma dakhala 'sh-sháma wa aqawa fí tilka 'd-diyári qaríban min 'ashara sanína* (*Ṭabaqát*, vol. iv, p. 107)). 'Abd Al-Gháfír apparently passes by in silence the time spent between Al-Ghazálí's leaving Baghdad and his going on pilgrimage. Al-Ghazálí cannot have performed the pilgrimage in 488, for he was too late in leaving Baghdad to arrive in time at Mekka, and Ibn Al-Athír dates the pilgrimage distinctly in A.H. 489.

Having continued his life of retirement and meditation, on his return from the pilgrimage, for some months longer, probably till about Sha'bán or Ramaḍán A.H. 490, he came back to semi-public life, and took up the work of teaching in the záwiya of Sheikḥ Naṣr, which was afterwards known as the Ghazálí záwiya. How long he taught there we do not know; but finally he fled from Damascus, and continued his life of wandering, though not now, as we surmise, as a faqír. The story told of the circumstances which led to his leaving Damascus may have some basis in fact, though the incident cannot have occurred in the Amína Madrasa.¹ The reason suggested for his leaving the city: namely, that he was afraid that he might become self-conceited through hearing his name quoted as an 'authority', is a little difficult to accept. More probably, he was shocked that he, whose sole aim had been to oppose *taqlíd*; was quoted as an authority, and therefore he left the city. It may have been at this time that he went to Egypt, visiting Cairo and Alexandria, in which latter place he is said to have stayed some time. That by Misr is to be understood Cairo, is certain from the clause which follows the statement that he went to Misr, and which reads, 'and from there he went to Alexandria.'² In Alexandria he may have heard of the 'justice' of Ibn Tashfín, and though the story that he intended to go to the West, but gave up the idea on hearing of the death of Ibn Tashfín³ cannot refer to this period of his life,

¹ See p. 19.² *Tabaqát*, vol. iv, p. 10.³ See p. 19.

there is nothing in it in itself which is improbable. It has simply, it would seem, been misplaced by As-Subkí, and probably belongs to a later period. It would seem that he never forgot what he had heard in Alexandria of the 'justice' of the Sultán of the West, and when he was at Naysabúr and found, after the death of his patron Fakhr Al-Mulk, that his opponents were many, and the attacks on him were unscrupulous and bitter, he remembered what he had heard of Ibn Tashfín, and was planning to go to the West when he heard of the death of this ruler.

From Alexandria he wandered again, we know not whither. During what remained of his years of 'retirement', he revisited Baghdad, we are told, and opened a majlis for preaching and teaching the Iḥyá'. He was not, however, one of the regular teachers of the Madrasa, for he was still in semi-retirement. How long he remained there we have no means of judging.

Again we find him at Hamadán, but have no particulars of his life or work there. All we know of this visit or residence at Hamadán, is what he tells us himself in the *Munqidh*,¹ namely, that he wrote one of his books in answer to a-question put to him there.

Probably the greater part of these remaining years was spent in his native town of Ṭús; for, some time during his wanderings, he must have entered into correspondence with his family. He had no sons, but only daughters, and one of these apparently remained at Baghdad.² They

¹ p. 26.

² Sayyid Murtaḍá, p. 18.

evidently wrote or sent messages to him urging him to come home, and at last he did so.

The account given us by 'Abd Al-Gháfir of this residence at Tús, leads to the conclusion that his stay there was prolonged. The following is a summary of what this biographer says. He then¹ returned to his native place, living in seclusion in his house, busying himself in meditation, and observing the appointed times of prayer. Here he was sought out and visited by those who desired instruction in the way of the Šúfis. He continued this life of piety and devotion (during which he apparently also wrote) till his books and writings became known everywhere, and were accepted without contradiction.²

Towards the close of this period, the decay of religion, in both faith and practice, began to lie heavy on his heart. We have already seen³ what he himself wrote about this period, and his grief at what he saw around him. Yet, though he felt an inward call to come out again into the world, and take up the work of a reformer, when the outward summons came, he greatly hesitated to answer it.

Fakhr Al-Mulk, now vizier, having heard of the fame of Al-Ghazálí as a pious devotee and a learned theo-

¹ The 'then' of 'Abd Al-Gháfir, may, without undue violence to the grammar, be taken as a continuation of what he says of Al-Ghazálí's wanderings and visitings of the shrines, and may thus be included in the almost ten years' of which he has already spoken.

² *Tabaqát*, vol. iv, p. 108.

³ pp. 11, 12.

logian, visited him at Tús, and having satisfied himself that this was a man such as he sought, and that the reports which he had heard were not without foundation, invited him to come to Naysabúr and undertake the work of teaching in the Nizámíyya Madrasa there. After repeated urging, Al-Ghazálí consented to go. This was in Dhú'l-Qa'da A.H. 499.¹

Al-Ghazálí, then, went to Naysabúr, but he was to enjoy the patronage of Fakhr Al-Mulk for less than two months.² His life here was full of trouble and discord. He was attacked and slandered, and apparently had none to protect him. Through it all, 'Abd Al-Gháfir tells us, he kept silent, writing no word in reply. But his very silence was suspected at first even by his friends as arising from mere disdain of his opponents, and his calmness in the midst of criticism was attributed merely to hypocrisy. It is not surprising that he thought of the 'justice' of Ibn Tashfín, and purposed seeking a refuge in the West.³ But hearing of his death, he turned his eyes again to his native city, and sought in retirement at Tús the peace and quiet which was denied him at Naysabúr. As he had foreseen, the attempt to do the work of a reformer, without the protection of a strong ruler, was doomed to failure.

¹ There is a story that Nizám Al-Mulk (this must be an error for Fakhr Al-Mulk) had before this written to him asking him to return to Baghdad, but that Al-Ghazálí declined to go. This letter of refusal, though perhaps not genuine, is given in the biography at the end of the edition of the Mishkát referred to in the list of books.

² Fakhr Al-Mulk was assassinated in Muḥarram, A.H. 500.

³ See p. 19.

And so, in the closing years of his life, we find him back again in 'retirement' among his personal friends and disciples at Tús, where he had charge of a Madrasa for students and a Khanqah or monastery for Şúfis.

During these last years, he took up more carefully than he had done before the study of tradition (*ḥadīth*). As-Subkí tells us that at the very close of his life he began to study *ḥadīth* and heard the two *Şahíhs*, that of Muslim, and that of Bukḥarí, and adds that had he lived longer he would, in a very short time, have surpassed all who preceded him by his knowledge of this branch of learning.¹

From As-Sam'ání, quoted by As-Subkí,² we learn that in order to study this subject, he summoned³ Abú Fityán 'Umar bin Abú Al-Ḥasan Ar-Rawásí, the Ḥáfiz of Tús. As-Subkí adds, 'And I have no doubt about his hearing the traditions in his earlier days, and that he gave himself to the work of hearing them at the end of his life. And he did not relate any traditions' (lam tattafiq lahu 'r-rawáya). This, of course, does not mean that he did not quote them. As a matter of fact he used them freely, and quoted very carelessly, for doing which he has often been criticized, and was indeed blamed during his life-time.⁴

He passed away on Monday, the 14th of Jumádi II, in the year A.H. 505 (A.D. 1111).⁵ His brother Aḥmad

¹ *Ṭabaqát*, vol. iv, p. 109.

² *Ibid.*, p. 111.

³ Sayyid Murtaḍá says (p. 19), invited to Tús.

⁴ See *Iqtişád*, pp. 96, 97.

⁵ *Ṭabaqát*, vol. iv, p. 110.

gives the following account of his last moments. 'When it was Monday, at the time of the morning prayer, my brother performed his ablutions, and prayed, and said, "Bring me the winding-sheet." And he took it and kissed it, and laid it on his eyes, and said, "I hear and obey to go in to the King." Then he extended his legs, and turned towards the Qibla, and departed to the good-will of God, May He be exalted.'¹

He was buried outside Ṭábarán (Ṭús).²

¹ Sayyid Murtaḍá, p. 11, quoting from the Kitáb ath-thabát 'inda'l-mamát of Ibn Al-Jáwzi.

² The Rev. S. M. Zwemer, D.D., has kindly permitted me to peruse two letters from the Rev. Dwight M. Donaldson of Meshed, Persia, giving an account of two visits to Ṭús (Ṭábarán). From these letters we learn that there is still to be seen outside of the city a tomb which Mr. Donaldson believes to be that of Abú Ḥámid. This may well be so, but it is not absolutely certain; for As-Subkí tells us (*Tabaqát*, vol. iii, p. 35 f.) that there was an ancestor, Abú Ḥámid Aḥmád bin Muḥammad Al-Ḡhazálí who was already famous and whose tomb in the burial ground outside of Ṭús was well known in his day. As-Subkí received his information as to the existence of this tomb from Jamál ad-Dín Muḥammad bin Muḥammad Al-Jamalí, who himself had visited it. This former Al-Ḡhazálí (Al-Ḡhazálí Al-Máḍí) as he was called, was either the uncle or the grand-uncle of Abú Ḥámid of whom we have written.

For a photograph of this tomb, see Dr. Zwemer's *Islám at its Best*. Mr. Donaldson, in his second letter, writes: 'You will notice that "Ḡhazálí" appears on the stone to have been spelled with a tashdeed, and yet the mark we have considered a tashdeed is not the usual form (v instead of u).'

It is to be noted that the name commonly written by Europeans 'Omar Al-Khayyám is written by the Arab Historians and Biographers 'Omar Al-Khayyámí.

CHAPTER II

HIS RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCES

WHEN Al-Ghazálí, as a lad, following the advice of his Šúfí guardian, resolved to devote himself to theological studies, he did so with no other object than that of gaining a living. He intended simply to prepare himself for a profession, and felt no higher call. In later life, he used to say, according to a story which has come down to us, 'We became students for the sake of something else than God, but He was unwilling that it should be for aught but Himself.'¹

Our principal authority for a knowledge of Al-Ghazálí's intellectual struggles and religious experiences, is the *Munqidh min ad-Dalál*, in which he tells his own story. The book was written when he was more than fifty years old, and may be regarded as covering practically the whole of his life. From it we learn that he passed through two great crises, one intellectual and the other spiritual.

In his early years he was wholly without any vital religion or personal experience. He professed Islám only because he had been brought up in the faith, and he performed the recognized duties of the religion and in every way conformed to the current practices solely as a matter

¹ Macdonald, p. 75 ; S. M. p. 7 ; As-Subkí iv, p. 102.

of use and wont. He was a believer not from conviction, but from birth and training. It was not long, however, before he began to ask himself questions, and his keen mind soon saw that he knew not why he 'believed'.

Before his twentieth birthday had passed he had wholly freed himself from the bonds of 'taqlid',¹ and his mind was completely unsettled about those beliefs which he had inherited from the past. It was not that he doubted the teachings of the faith in themselves, but that he did not feel that there was any assurance or proof that these teachings were correct. He could not accept them simply on the authority of human teachers. 'The fathers have said so, therefore the thing is true,' was to him no proof. Indeed, he perceived, as he says elsewhere, that the 'authority of the fathers' and the influence of traditional belief and practice have been the two great stumbling-blocks in the path of the prophets in all times. The faith of his childhood might be true, but it was not his own. He wanted 'proof' so that he might know for himself that these things were so.

Let us hear his own words. 'The thirst for realities was my custom and practice from the very beginning—from the earliest period of my life. It was something implanted, an innate disposition which God had placed in my very nature, and had nothing to do with my own choice and ability. And so the fetters of "taqlid" were broken, and I was completely unsettled in my inherited

¹ By 'taqlid' is meant the acceptance of dogma, method of argument, or practice, on the mere ground of human authority without any proof of its truth or reasonableness.

beliefs about the time when my childish days were over. For I saw that the children of the Christians never grew up other than Christians, and the children of the Jews never grew up other than Jews, and the children of the Muslims never grew up other than Muslims; and I had heard the traditional saying reported of the Prophet, 'Every child is born with a natural disposition (to the true religion, Islám), and then his parents make him a Jew, a Christian, or a Zoroastrian.' My mind was moved to search out the nature both of this original disposition (of the child), and of the accidental beliefs imposed on him by the authority of his parents and teachers, and the distinctive elements among these 'traditional' beliefs which are at first received by hearsay, and concerning which there is great divergence of opinion in the matter of discriminating what is true from what is false in them.

'So I said to myself, "Seeing that my aim is to attain to a knowledge of the reality of things, it is indispensable to ascertain what knowledge means." (When I investigated this) I saw that certitude is a knowledge whereby the thing known is so laid bare that there can remain no doubt about the matter, no possibility of error, and no possibility that (the opinion held) is mere conjecture; and that the mind will have no place for regarding (the conclusion reached) as merely probable (I saw, further, that in order) that the mind may have a sense of absolute security of being free from error, it is necessary that (the knowledge) be so closely associated with certainty that if, for example, one who possessed the power of changing a stone into gold, or a stick into a serpent, were

to challenge to show its falsity, even then there could arise no doubt or uncertainty (in my mind).'¹

Al-Ghazālī goes on to tell us how he then began to examine by this criterion what knowledge he had, and how he soon found that none of it was certain except that which was attained through the senses, and the axiomatic principles. A closer examination of knowledge attained through the senses soon brought him to see that even this was not wholly trustworthy. The senses are often deceived. For example, what is large may appear to be small simply because it is at a distance. The glowing end of a stick moved rapidly with a circular motion gives the impression of a ring of fire, yet there is no ring of fire. He, therefore, came to the conclusion that one cannot absolutely rely on the senses.

He then fell back on axiomatic principles, such as, 'Ten is greater than three;' 'Affirmation and negation cannot coexist;' and said to himself that he must rely on reason alone. But again doubt arose within him, and this doubt was strengthened by the reflection that when one dreams one believes to be true what on waking one finds to be false; and he thought that it might well be that even those axioms though appearing undoubtedly true in his present state might prove to be false were he to pass into another state. The Śūfīs claimed to pass into a state in which they saw things that were not in accordance with either sense-perceptions or the perceptions of the reason. 'Perhaps also,' he said to himself,

¹ *Al-Munqidh*, p. 4.

‘death is a state in which what to a living man appears to be true may be seen to be false.’

This period of doubt and uncertainty must have continued for a long time. For, though we are not to understand from what he says that he came to this final state in his early youth, yet the seeds of doubt were sown early, and the plant grew year by year till at last the fruit formed and ripened, and he found himself a thorough sceptic.

His condition was now miserable: he believed he could not rely even on reason, and he felt himself on the verge of madness. Whither to turn for escape he knew not, and for two months he wandered in the blackness of intellectual despair. At the end of these two unhappy months, during which he still continued to profess Islám and to conform outwardly to all the practices of the faith, he found deliverance. His escape, he says, was due to a light which God caused to penetrate into his heart.

At first sight, it appears a little difficult to determine exactly what Al-Ghazálí meant when he said that his escape from intellectual despair was due to this light. One thing seems clear from the outset; he does not intend to assert that he received a revelation of any particular truth. The light which shone into his darkness did not reveal ‘truth’; that had still to be sought and found; but it brought to him a personal faith in God, and in Islám as the true revelation of God through Muḥammad. Up to this moment of his life, we must remember, he had had no personal faith; he was a ‘believer’ simply from birth and training; but now, suddenly, he was awakened,

and led to accept Islām. He was impelled to do so, not from the force of any arguments (the intellectual proof came afterwards), but by a sudden impulse of faith, which he could not explain except on the ground that it proceeded from divine enlightenment. The thought appears to have come into his mind as a *flash* bringing hope—that inspiration and revelation are actual possibilities; that all human knowledge of religious truth depends ultimately on revelation; and that this alone could give authority to any teaching. In the *Minhāj*¹ there is a passage which appears to throw considerable light on this period of his life. It is evidently a summary of the conclusions which he reached through his own experiences as related in the *Munqidh*. He says that when a man first awakens to the need of service and of stripping himself in order to enter the path of service, it is by a heavenly suggestion from God and a special divine help or direction. This he says is the meaning of the words of the Qur'ān, 'God opens the heart to Islām.'² The first step after this, he says, is to attain to a true *knowledge*.³

Further light on this subject is to be found in other passages in his writings. For instance, in the *Fayṣal at-Tafriqa*, he tells us that the very syllogisms of logic, on which all true reasoning and argument depend, he deduced (or rather he became assured of their reliability) from the method of argument which is employed in the Qur'ān in appealing to human reason. Apparently he said to himself, 'If the divine mind can base arguments

¹ p. 3.

² Surā vi. 125.

³ See also what he says in the section on Repentance in the *Iḥyā*.

on certain principles and axioms, these must be absolutely reliable, and the human mind can without fear of error reason on the same grounds.'

But he went even further. When he spoke of 'revelation', he meant not merely the inspiration of the prophets and the saints, but the enlightenment of the ordinary human mind whereby it is enabled to judge between truth and falsehood. It is this same light which has enabled men to understand the teaching of the Qur'án.¹

Henceforth he sought to find out *truth* by the help of this light. By faith he had accepted the Qur'án as the Word of God, and Muḥammad as the prophet of God, and now he set out to seek truth which he believed must be in conformity with the words of the book, and the teachings and practices of the prophet; and *reason* is the guide of the individual believer to show him wherein this conformity consists. All that can be proved by reason is to be accepted, unless the premises from which the 'proof' starts are not self-evident, or are in contradiction to the Qur'án. Nothing that can be 'demonstrated' to be true is to be rejected because it appears to be contrary to the words of the Qur'án. Rather must one examine the interpretation which has been put upon the words, for the two must agree; and that interpretation which accords with reason must be the true interpretation.

This crisis of his life must have been reached either while he was still at Naysabúr, or during his stay at the camp of Nizám al-Mulk, more probably during the earlier period. With renewed energy he now proceeded to

¹ See *Iqtisād*, p. 2.

examine the teachings of those who professed to be seekers after truth. 'When God, by his favour and abundant goodness, had healed me of this sickness, I saw that those who are Seekers (after truth) may be classified under four heads: (1) Scholastic Theologians (the Mutakallimín) who claim that they follow opinion (ra'y) and speculation (nadh'r). (2) The Báṭiníyya, who pretend that they follow 'teaching', and are peculiarly the possessors of knowledge acquired from an errorless Imám. (3) The Philosophers, who profess to rely on logic and demonstration. (4) The Mystics (Ṣúfís) who claim that they are the people that are near to the divine presence, and enjoy vision and ecstatic revelation (al-Mukáshafa).¹

In the teachings of one or other of these classes he looked to find a *reasonable* explanation of the seen world and a *reasonable* interpretation of revealed religion. The uneducated man may find it enough to accept the teachings of the book as they stand without further investigation; but the educated thinker cannot be so easily contented; he wishes and must have an explanation of the faith that is in him.

Al-Ghazálí first studied the teachings and the methods of the Mutakallimín, the Scholastic Theologians. He found them to be a class which having accepted certain beliefs defended them against all unorthodoxy and heretical innovation; but he was unsatisfied with their methods of arguing, seeing that they never tried to show the absolute truth of their beliefs, but started with certain premises which they demanded their opponents should

¹ *Al-Munqidh*, p. vii.

grant on the ground either of authority (taqlíd), or universal consent (ijmá'), or mere acceptance of the literal words of the Qur'án, or tradition (akhbár) ; but the truth or falsity of these premises they would never consent to examine. Indeed, they were, for the most part, incapable of discussing matters with an outsider or sceptic who would not grant their premises, for they introduced the principle of 'authority' into matters which were not self-evident. It is true, he says, that the later Mutakallimín also investigated 'substances' and 'accidents' and the laws which govern these, but seeing that these were not the real object of their study, which, as already stated, was to bolster up orthodoxy and fight against all heretical innovation, their theology (kalámahum) did not satisfy. He, therefore, found nothing to give him assurance from this class of 'Seekers'.

His study of the Mutakallimín and their methods must have been completed either before he went to Baghdad, or during the first year of his residence there. It is probable that *Risálat al-Qudsiyya* and the *Iqtisád fi'l-I'tiqád* were the outcome of these studies in Kalám.¹

¹ In the *Jawáhir al-Qur'án*, p. 25, he tells us that he wrote on Kalám—with the object of preserving the faith of the common people from errors and innovations—the *Risálat al-Qudsiyya* and the *Iqtisád fi'l-I'tiqád*. And in the *Kitáb al-Arba'in*, p. 27, he says that he wrote the *Risálat al-Qudsiyya* to give proofs of the faith, and that this book is one of the sections (the third) of *Qawá'id al-'Aqá'id* which is the second Rub'a of the *Ihyá'* (as Professor Macdonald has suggested) and that the *Iqtisád* gives more detailed proofs. The theory that the *Risálat al-Qudsiyya* was written for the people of Jerusalem (al-Quds) is therefore proved to be wrong ; it was called the *Risálat al-Qudsiyya* because it treated of God's Nature (Quds).

It is to be noted that it was not the theology of the Mutakallimín so much as their methods of argument in support of their dogmas that Al-Ghazálí rejected. Their dogmas, for the most part, he accepted, but on other grounds than those of *authority*. In the *Mizán al-'Amal*, he repeatedly states that he will teach the Faith by a means or method which will bring *assurance*, while the teachings of the Mutakallimín produce at best a weak faith, because it makes one dependent on fallible man and does not take one back to the prophet and the Qur'án. By this *method* he means the use of *reason* applied to the understanding of the teachings of the Qur'án and the prophet, and to the developing of these teachings on a logical basis. There were, he says, two extreme parties—those who followed mere human authority, without investigating thoroughly the truth of the teachings of these 'authorities' (this class was the Mutakallimín); and those who followed reason alone, without listening to the voice of revelation (by this class he appears to mean the Mu'tazilites). Both parties are extremists, and both are alike to be condemned. The true path follows a middle course. One must depend on *revelation* and use *reason* to understand it and explain it. Reason is 'the sense of sight', the Qur'án is 'the light-shedding sun'. He who refuses to employ reason and appeals only to the Qur'án, is like a man who professes to see by the light of the sun while he keeps his eyes shut. He is no better than a blind man. But reason with revelation is light upon light.

He passed on, then, to consider the second class, the Philosophers. His study of these was carried on at

Baghdad, and he spent practically three years on them. The first two years were occupied with the study of their systems, and the third year was given to meditation on these after he had thoroughly mastered them. Apparently he was led to take up this study by what he had seen of the way in which the Mutakallimín sometimes denied the teachings of the philosophers without having, as was plain from what they said, first made sure that they understood these teachings. He saw that to be able to refute any teaching it was absolutely necessary first to study and understand it.

But during the whole time he was at Baghdad he was occupied in teaching and in writing books, and it was only his leisure that he was able to give to what may be called his private researches, which he carried on, as it were, in secret without the help of any teacher, relying solely on books for his information. It is not necessary for the purpose in hand to enumerate the classes into which he divided the philosophers or to give any summary of his account of them, or of his arguments against them. All that we need say is that in them he found no satisfaction. Professor Macdonald has suggested that in the *Maqásid al-Falásifa* we probably have the result of his two years of study and in the *Taháfut*, the result of the further year of meditation. This may well be so.¹

¹ Professor Macdonald, p. 98, approves the suggestion of Gosche that the *Maqásid* and the *Mi'yár al-'Ilm* are one book referred to under different titles. This, however, is not so. Both books have been published in Cairo. In the *Encyclopædia of Islám* under the article *Ghazálí* Professor Macdonald, reviews the two books.

So far, Al-Ghazálí, though firmly established in his belief in the truth of Islám, had found no answer to the questions which his enquiring mind had put. Islám was creed and law; he wanted a theological system, and, above all, a living religion whereby he might feel that he could find access to God and some means of escape from the thralldom of his lower nature.

About this time, so Al-Ghazálí informs us, the sect of the Ta'limites¹ were making themselves unusually objectionable to the authorities and were troubling the faith of many, and he had in mind to study carefully their teachings and refute them. While he was proposing this to himself, he was asked by the Khalífa Mustadhíir, who had lately succeeded his father, to write a book exposing these heretical teachings. He did so with great pleasure; indeed, he was not content to write one book only, for he mentions two which apparently he wrote about this time, the *Mustadhíir* and the *Hujjat al-Haqq*, and three others; one, the *Mufaṣṣṣil al-Khiláf*, written in answer to a question put to him in later years at Hamadán, another, the *Daraj al-Marqúm bi'l-Jadáwil*, in reply to a question put to him at Tús when he had retired there after his wanderings in Syria and elsewhere, and the third the well-known *Qustás al-Mustayím*.

His position towards the teachings of the Ta'limites was that if any one wishes to follow an impeccable authority he need only follow the Prophet, who was the true Errorless Imám, and whose teachings and example

¹ A branch of the Báṭíníyya.

were available, while the Hidden Imám, in whom the Ta'limites professed to believe, could not be consulted, even supposing he existed, for one could not be for ever travelling to seek his advice; and further, in most cases the need was for immediate advice, and the occasion would have passed before one could reach him.

He had already, as we have seen, found a basis for thought and knowledge, namely, Revelation; and a theology which was based on this revelation and developed through reason; but he still found that he had not yet reached the goal he sought.

There was a further knowledge which was claimed by the Şúfis, based not on reason, but on experience and direct divine enlightenment, and he now began to examine the teachings of the Şúfis, if, peradventure, these would bring him to that further knowledge which he sought. He had, of course, studied Şúfí teaching before this, just as he had studied other branches of learning before he began those special investigations of which he tells us in the *Munqidh*; but his early studies of Şúfíism had apparently been slight, and if we are to trust the story told by Ash-Sha'rání on the authority of Muḥyí'ud-Dín,¹ he had but little faith in the sincerity of the claims which were made by the Şúfis; and when he attempted to gain some personal experience of these he failed to find satisfaction. All that he had then been able to attain to was a purer and clearer knowledge but not the unveiling (*mukáshafa*) of which he had heard.

¹ See Macdonald, p. 90 f. and As-Subkí iv, p. 109.

In his present studies he depended on the *Qút al-Qulúb* (Nourishment of the Hearts) by Abú Tálíb al-Makki, the works of al-Háarith al-Muḥásibí, and the scattered remains of Al-Junaid, Ash-Shiblí, Abú Yazíd al-Bistámí, and others, as well as on the guidance of living Şúfis whom he consulted.

It was not long before he found that here at last, in all probability, he had come across that of which he was in search. But, at the same time, he perceived that Şúfí knowledge was to be acquired not by study but by practice. He reasoned, for instance, that to know wherein health consists, is not the same as to have good health ; to understand what intoxication is, is quite another thing from being intoxicated ; and similarly, to know the teachings and practices of the Şúfis, is not the same as to experience their ecstasies. He saw that he had reached the furthest limit which was to be reached unless he actually became a Şúfí.

He tells us that his studies had so far brought him to a firm and unshakable belief in three things—God, Inspiration, and the Last Judgement. Here ended the second period of his inner life.

The third period was brief in time, but intense in the experiences through which he passed. It began about Jum'adí II of the year A.H. 488, and lasted for six months. During it he had his first real spiritual experiences. Hitherto he had sought mere intellectual truth, and apparently it was his studies in Şúfíism that opened his eyes to see that the needs of the soul are not to be satisfied by mere theology and a knowledge of

jurisprudence. These can never give a man a vital religion or prove a means of access to God and a path of deliverance from sin and evil. Man's chief need, he saw, was some way of escape from all that is sinful and base within him. He had learned from the Šúfís that this was to be accomplished through attaining nearness to God, and that this nearness to God could be reached through religious practices which separated a man from the visible world, the unreal world, and opened his mind and soul to the divine realities, so that he became capable of receiving that divine inspiration which alone can purify the soul.¹

All this, I say, he had already learned, and now he began to realize that, in spite of knowing it, he was himself making no advance in growth in his spiritual life; and he became convinced that he never could progress so long as he continued his present manner of life. He felt the necessity of withdrawing from public life that he might then be able to retire and practise what he now believed to be the only way to peace of mind here on earth and of salvation hereafter.²

But he could not at once bring himself to give up his position with its hopes of advancement, and fame.

¹ The true Šúfí, according to Ash-Sha'rání, does not even seek to get near God; he only seeks to separate himself from the world and all sense perceptions, to empty himself, in fact, so that God Himself may fill him. See *Kitáb al-Anwár al-Qiddisiyya*.

² Salvation is used here to mean absolute escape from the torments of hell. According to Al-Ghazálí very few thus escape. Only those do so who have completely purified themselves; while the others pass for a shorter or longer time through the fires to be cleansed. All true Muslims will enter Paradise, but most of them have to be first purged of their sins, in the fires of hell.

It was in Rajab 488, he tells us, that this crisis began. Time and again he resolved to retire from the world, and time and again the morning found him still unable to carry out the resolutions of the previous evening. As the weeks and months passed by the struggle with his conscience induced physical illness, and finally his physicians told him that there was no hope of recovery unless the causes of his trouble, which they recognized were not physical, were removed. At last in the prospect of possible death there opened up before him, to use the words of a later writer, a door of fear. The terrors of hell, such as he himself has described in the *lhyá'*, laid hold upon him. When he saw that there was no other hope before him, he finally sought refuge in God; and God, he says, answered him and made the renunciation easy. In Dhú'l-Qa'da A.H. 488 he left Baghdad.

During these years of retirement his character became wholly changed, and he became a humble seeker after God where before he had been a proud and ambitious theologian.

As-Subkí tells us ¹ how 'Abd al-Gháfir has recorded that he often visited Al-Ghazálí after he had returned to Naysabúr at the request of Fakhr al-Mulk, and wondered at what he saw. In his earlier days Abú Hámid had been noted for the disdain and contempt with which he would treat his opponents as men almost on a level with the senseless brutes. His very glance and look were full of scorn; and when 'Abd al-Gháfir saw him now apparently so changed he could not at first believe that

¹ *Tabaqát*, vol. iv, pp. 108, 109.

his present behaviour was not the result of some deep hypocrisy 'the pride which apes humility'. Yet on closer examination he came to realize that the change had actually taken place, and that he was like a man who had recovered his senses after a period of madness.

In Chapter I we have already told the story of how his brother Aḥmad openly rebuked him in Baghdad for his hypocrisy. It shows that, though Abú Ḥámid could write and preach on the duties of the believer, he did not himself follow his own teaching.

He confesses in the *Munqidh* that, even in his work of lecturing and writing in Baghdad, he was actuated not by pure motives, but by the desire of fame and glory and position.

How greatly he had changed that other story shows us which tells how in the *Khanqah* at Damascus he undertook the lowest of menial work, that of cleansing the ablution tanks of the *Khanqah*. Here was the famous Imám of Baghdad, behind whom thousands used to rank themselves for the public prayers, performing work befitting the meanest slave in the city.

Here we leave him for the present, but in another chapter we shall ask whether after all he found Him whom his soul desired.

CHAPTER III

AL-GHAZÁLÍ'S THEOLOGICAL POSITION

IN the present chapter we shall consider the theological position which Al-Ghazálí attained without attempting to discuss the question of how he reached it. At the very outset let us say that he was an orthodox Muslim. So far as can be seen from his writings, he never, at any time, challenged any of the essential doctrines of Islám. Even during the period of his doubt, he had no quarrel with the doctrines as doctrines; he doubted, not their truth or reasonableness, but whether the human reason could know anything at all with certainty. The Faith, from the point of view of its truth or falsity, he never even criticized. When he emerged from this crisis, he emerged, an orthodox Muslim, convinced *by faith* of the truth of Islám; and all his subsequent investigations were carried on with the object of establishing the reasonableness of its doctrines and practices, and 'proving' them by an appeal to the ultimate authority of *revelation*. The doctrines of what was orthodox Islám in his day, he accepted; but his struggle with the scholastic theologians, nevertheless, was vital and bitter.

To understand what this controversy meant, we must look first at the position which these theologians occupied. Around the simple and unsophisticated faith of the early days, they had, in course of time, built up a system of

theology and religious philosophy which very few even of themselves were able fully and clearly to comprehend. But not merely so ; they had further built around this a system of outer defences supporting the inner citadel of the faith ; and the whole of these works they claimed as being of the essence of Islám. A man might be willing to accept, for instance, the doctrine of the Unity of God, but unless he were also willing to accept the theology which they had developed in explanation of this doctrine, and was able to enter into all the intricacies of their scholastic reasonings, they would hardly concede to him the name of 'believer'.

The practical result of their position was that the right of the unlearned man to the name of 'mu'min' (believer) was denied. They looked down on the common and unenlightened people as practically outside the pale of Islám ; and each clique, and there were almost innumerable existing cliques, regarded all outsiders as unbelievers ; nor were they slow to damn and commit each other to the fires of hell.¹

It was against all this that Al-Ghazálí's life and work were a protest. This was the traditional system that he fought ; and the struggle was no kid-glove contest. He designated it as 'Taqlíd'—the acceptance of systems, dogmas, practices, madhhabs (sectarian differences), and stereotyped 'methods of proof' solely on authority. The whole vast scheme he absolutely scorned. On this point he makes his position very clear. He reminded men that the greatest obstacle to the success of the prophets

¹ See *Faysal*, section 10.

has always been an obstinate clinging to the beliefs and ways of the 'fathers', and a refusal to examine these beliefs and practices to see whether they were well-founded or not.

In the *Iqtisād*,¹ speaking of the manner in which men accept beliefs and practices on other than reasonable grounds, he says that few men, other than the saints whom God has strengthened, are able consistently to take reason alone as a guide. Most thinkers follow merely their own school of thought, and often reject teachings and truths simply because they are the tenets of another school. Thus, he says, you will find no difficulty in persuading an uneducated Mu'tazilite to accept many statements as reasonable, if he does not know that these are the views of the Ash'arites, for example. But, as soon as he finds that these are Ash'arite positions, he will utterly reject them. And, *vice versa*, an Ash'arite will absolutely refuse to accept views which he knows are held by the Mu'tazilites, solely and simply because they are those of an opposing school of thought. This bigoted following of a 'school' irrespective of the reasonableness or unreasonableness of its tenets is, he says, not confined to the unlearned. Let us quote his own words: 'And I do not say that this is the nature of the common people, but it is the nature of most of those whom I have seen who are marked as learned men. For they do not differ from the common people in the matter of tradition (taqlíd). Nay, they have added to the tradition of the sect (madhhab), the tradition of demonstration; for, in their

¹ p. 77.

investigation, they do not seek the truth, but seek some method of subterfuge to support what they have accepted as the truth by hearsay and tradition (*taqlíd*). So, if in their investigation they meet with anything which supports their beliefs, they say: "We have got hold of a proof;" and if anything appears to weaken their sectarian belief (*madhhab*), they say, "We have come across something doubtful." Thus, they set up the belief, grasped and accepted by tradition, as a principle; and they call "doubtful" whatever is contrary to it, and a "demonstration" whatever agrees with it. But the right way of doing is the contrary of this; for one must have no belief (preconceived ideas) to start with; but must look at the demonstration, and call what it demands, the "truth", what is opposed to it "the false."¹

Against this narrow and hide-bound system, Al-Ghazálí waged bitter warfare. He saw clearly that with such a conception of the proper means of supporting religion, there could be no future for the Faith; and in opposition to it he took his stand for freedom of thought and liberty of judgement. Yet, as we have said, he was an orthodox Muslim, holding all the essential doctrines of the Faith, though claiming that there was a better and more reasonable way of maintaining and proving these doctrines than that of mere appeal to 'tradition.'²

¹ *Iqtisád*, p. 77.

² With this claim for freedom must be compared what he says in the *Maḍnūn bihi*, p. 37 ff. where he really urges what amounts to a *taqlidī* acceptance of orthodox Islām by the common people. He scorned *taqlid* as an investigator, he demands its acceptance by the common people, as a reformer. See further, chapter v.

Let us digress here a moment to explain that while he denied the authority of 'tradition' (taqlíd), he was whole-hearted in his acceptance of the authority of what is usually called 'the traditions' (ḥadíth and ākhbár). Along with the authority of the Qur'án, as the foundation of religious knowledge, he accepted also, as trustworthy sources of knowledge of the divine will, the words of the Prophet, and his example; as well as the actions and sayings of those who had been 'Companions' of the Prophet, and were, therefore, presumably, better acquainted with his views and thoughts than those who came later.

To return, Al-Ghazálí, in opposition to the current systems of the schools, maintained and expounded his position.

He taught that religion consists of three parts—Belief, Works, and Experience. What he had to say on the first two divisions, we shall briefly now consider; the third will be taken up in a later chapter, when we speak of Al-Ghazálí as Şúfí.

In the *Minháj*, the last book he composed, he explains at considerable length the various stages through which the Seeker or Traveller must pass when once he has come to realize that God exists and claims his services. We have already seen¹ that he claims that all true religious knowledge depends ultimately on revelation. Reason alone cannot lead one to God, or form the foundation of religious knowledge. There are sciences in which reason alone is supreme and fully competent, depending

¹ Chapter ii.

on sense—perceptions and axiomatic principles for their fundamentals. But the fact that philosophical (i.e. non-religious) thinkers may be specialists, and in a sense *authorities* in these branches of knowledge, is no guarantee that they are qualified to speak on religious subjects. Their spheres of thought are quite out of touch with religion. If their deductions are logical, they cannot lead to conclusions which are contradictory to the truths of revealed religion, so long as they do not start from mistaken premises ; but, at the same time, they cannot lead to religious knowledge. No man by searching can find out God.

God, however, has revealed Himself, and made known His will to mankind ; and has done so finally and fully through Muḥammad. To become convinced of this, man does not depend in any way on reason, but on divine enlightenment. Those on whom God bestows His light, accept the revelation, and put their confidence in the revealed word (the Qur'án), and in the Prophet (Muḥammad), who by his examples and sayings did much to interpret the meaning of the word, both in its formal (dogmatic) teachings and in its commands and principles. The reputed sayings of the Companions (the Aṣḥáb), and the words and practices of the Prophet form a secondary, but a hardly less reliable, authority. The Qur'án comes first ; but the traditions (ḥadīth or akhbár) must not be neglected. This acceptance of the authority of the Prophet, and of the Qur'án, which is caused by a divine enlightenment—a heavenly suggestion from God, is, however, merely an awakening. The believer, as we may

now call him, is only a potential believer. By the grace of God, he has become willing to believe; but he has yet to learn what to believe. He has only so far heard, as it were, the divine voice calling him, speaking to him through the word and through the example of the Prophet and his teachings.

Thus, Al-Ghazálí's position may be said to be that every one who accepts Islám, accepts it *by faith*; for reason cannot lead him to it. God's grace, which calls him, when received and accepted, enlightens his reason and gives him the power to understand divine things. The mind willing to obey is the only mind which can have any true knowledge of God. In this Al-Ghazálí stands where all true Christian teachers stand.

The question, however, arises whether, in some cases, God does not employ means for the purpose of bringing a man to accept Islám in faith; and here again, we find Al-Ghazálí taking up a very clear and definite position. He maintains that faith (imán) is the light that God casts into the hearts of men, and may find its entrance in many ways. It is the gift of God ('atíyya wa hadíyya min 'indihi), and arises sometimes from an inner evidence which cannot be expressed; sometimes through a vision in a dream; sometimes through seeing the state (ḥál) of a devout man, and through the passing of his light to him while keeping company with him, and sitting with him; sometimes through accessory circumstances. But as against the position of the Mutakallimín, Al-Ghazálí maintains that while it is just possible that some have been brought to the truth by the study of the

niceties of Kalâm, the demand that these put forward that faith is founded on a proper understanding of these niceties, and intricacies, is to be rejected. The Arabs of the time of Muḥammad were not and could not be Mutakallimín. Indeed, he holds that the views of the Mutakallimín in thus restricting the methods by which one may be assured and convinced of the truth of Islâm, are pure and absolute *innovation* (bid'a).¹

To return to Al-Ghazálî's conception of the stages through which the seeker passes. Having heard and answered the divine voice calling, the 'believer' is awakened, and now he must take the first step. This consists in learning what the word says; what the Prophet teaches; and what his example entails. It is after accepting Islâm that the believer must learn. To do this, he must depend on reason—reason now enlightened by God's grace—to interpret for him the word, and the sayings and doings of the Prophet, and to enable him to deduce from these those things which are not therein fully explained.

In the *Iqtisād* ² Al-Ghazálî uses the following illustration to explain the place of reason in this study, and the necessity for its use. Reason is the eye with which one sees; the Qur'án is the light-shedding sun. He who attempts to understand the Qur'án without the use of reason is like a man who attempts to see things by the light of the sun while he keeps his eyes shut. He is in no way different from a blind man. In other words,

¹ See what he says in the *Maḍnūn bihi*, p. 37.

² p. 3.

a man who attempts to understand revealed religion without using his reason, simply shuts his eyes in the clear light of day. He sees nothing. But he who uses reason to enable him to see in the bright light of revelation, has light upon light.

It has been said ¹ that Al-Ghazálí's watchword was, 'Back to the Qur'án'. The expression may be misleading if it be taken too literally ; for, on the one hand, it suggests that Al-Ghazálí rejected the teachings of the theologians of his day, and sought to bring men back to a purer faith ; and, on the other hand, it might be taken as meaning that he regarded the Qur'án alone as the true foundation of the faith, which was very far from being the case.

When a man comes, says Al-Ghazálí, to study revealed religion with the help of his now enlightened reason, he will see that there is a God who is All-powerful, Willing, Hearing, Seeing, Speaking, but who is free from all accidents of speech, knowledge, will, etc., far above (muqaddas) all imperfections and infirmities ; who cannot be described by the attributes of the creature (al-muh-dathín) and to whom cannot be attributed the characteristics of the creature ; who is not like anything he has created, and whom nothing is like ; who is not contained in place or direction, and whom no accidents or infirmities affect.²

He will see, further, when he considers the miracles of the Apostle and his wonderful deeds, and the signs which mark his claim to be a prophet, that he is indeed the

¹ Canon Gairdner in *Der Islám*, July, 1914.

² See also *Al-Qustás*, p. 89.

Apostle of God, and His *trusty one*, to whom He has given His inspiration.¹ He will see, too, that the fathers (as-salaf) believed assuredly that God can be seen in the world to come, and that He exists, and is not in any circumscribed direction ; and that the Qur'án is the word of God, uncreated, without disconnected letters or sounds, seeing that, if it were so, it would be one of His creatures ; and that there exists in the seen and in the unseen world (fi'l-mulk wa'l-malakút) not a movement of the eye but by the determination (qaḍá) of God, and His decree (qadar) and will (iráda) and expressed desire (mashí'at) ; and that from Him is the good and the evil, the beneficial and the hurtful, faith and unbelief ; and that if He recompense any one, it is of His favour ; and if He punish any one, it is of His justice.

He will learn also what the Prophet has spoken of the world to come—such as the day of resurrection ; and the torments of the grave ; the questioning of Munkir and Nákir ; the balance ; the bridge (as-siráṭ). For these were the principles accepted by the pious fathers, and were matters of general assent, until 'innovation' spread, and 'flighty fancies' appeared.²

Such is a summary of what the believer must accept as the truth ; but the simple-minded man is not bound to understand all the details and niceties which the scholastic theologians spent their time in discussing. If a man can be satisfied without asking the why and the wherefore

¹ See *Al-Qustás*, pp. 82, 83.

² See *Minhaj*, p. 8. For a briefer summary of the essential principles of the Faith, see *Risálat al-Wa'dh*, p. 29.

of all these questions, being simply assured that they were taught by the Qur'án and the Prophet, it will be the better for him, for with most men, enquiry only leads to doubt and often to unbelief.¹

Yet while Al-Ghazálí maintained that the claims of the Mutakallimín were unfounded, and that the simple believer was not called upon to be a thorough theologian, he did hold that the acceptance of the above articles of faith, if we may be allowed to describe them as such, must be an intelligent acceptance. A man must use his reason in judging whether these things are in accordance with the revealed word of God, and the sayings and example of the Prophet. For reason and the teachings of the Qur'án must agree; and, if any teaching of the Qur'án appears to contradict reason, it is not reason which is to be doubted, but the interpretation which has been put upon the words of the Qur'án.

Thus, it will be seen that Al-Ghazálí held that much that was supposed in his day by many to be of the essence of the Faith was in fact non-essential. He who accepts the Qur'án and the Prophet honestly from the heart, and endeavours to carry out the precepts of both, must be considered a good Muslim.² He may make many mistakes in his interpretation of the Qur'án, or in his explanation of sayings and doings of the Prophet; and if he do so, he is to be regarded as a mistaken Muslim, but not as an unbeliever.

¹ *Minhaj*, pp. 36, 37; *Al-Qustás*, p. 88.

² See *Faysal*, section 3,

Al-Ghazálí teachings and influence were, therefore, all on the side of liberty and freedom of judgement.¹ But, as Professor Macdonald has pointed out in the *Encyclopædia of Islám*, Al-Ghazálí at the same time held on certain points intolerant views. He maintained that all who professed to be Muslims ought to be prevented by the strong arm of the civil authorities from doing or saying anything which tends to 'innovation' (bid'a) or 'unbelief' (kufr).² Nevertheless, on the whole, his work tended to freedom and liberty.³ For, according to him, besides the fact that the essentials of religion are comparatively few, there must always be a distinction made between what a man professes and what he holds between himself and God. Into the latter, no man has a right to enquire.⁴ Of course the two must not be, and indeed cannot be, contradictory; for the faith professed must be a faith of the heart. Of this, however, also, no man has a right to judge. All that man can do is to demand that the Faith be heartily accepted; but as to whether it is so accepted the believer's own profession must be taken as deciding. No man must be refused the name of Muslim who is willing to be known as a Muslim and will profess the Faith outwardly. As already said, where the arm of the law can, and ought to step in is, according to Al-Ghazálí, in demanding that when a man professes Islám he must not also openly profess beliefs which are contrary to the essential principles of the Faith; or so conduct himself that his life is a denial of his outward profession.⁵

¹ See *Faysal*, pp. 2-4.

² See *Maḍnūn bihi*, pp. 37, 38, 39.

³ See *Faysal*, sections 3 and 8.

⁴ See *Mizān*, p. 214.

⁵ See also Chapter v.

Al-Ghazálí is sometimes spoken of as a Reformer, and his claim to this name is undeniable. Yet it was not the Faith that he reformed or purified. He introduced no new doctrine; nor did he reject any of the essential doctrines which went in his day, and still go, to make up Islám. What he did was to free Islám from the dead weight of the claim of the scholastic theologians to be the sole guardians of the Faith; and above all, he established the doctrines on a firmer and surer foundation. In the *Mizán*, he repeatedly states that he will teach the doctrines of the Faith in such a manner that a man may have a firm and assured knowledge. He will prove that they are true. It was a new manner or system of proving the doctrines that he established. Even in this, he was not an absolute originator; but it was he, more than any one else, who assured that this new method of proof be recognized in the church of Islám.

It is sad to find that while he established this method of proof in opposition to the favourite one of *taqlíd*, he did not succeed in so opening the minds of Muslim theologians as to lead them to follow him in its use. Whom, after Al-Ghazálí, do we find seeking independently to study the teachings of the Qur'án and the traditions? As a matter of fact, things went back to the old way—not that his proofs were rejected—but they were taken as *authority*. He became a new authority, and that was all. His proofs have become stereotyped, and for 800 years, when Muslim theologians have appealed to Al-Ghazálí, they have simply appealed to what he wrote, and, without investigating the doctrines independently, have only studied

the arguments which he established. The process, apparently, began in his own life-time, as we may judge from the story already alluded to of how he entered a school at Damascus, and found the teacher saying 'Al-Ghazálí says,' using his words as a *proof*.

Even to this day, in the Azhar University, it is not the Qur'án and the traditions which are studied; but the teachings of the bygone theologians on the Qur'án and the traditions; and alas, for the irony of it, among them stands Al-Ghazálí.

As regards dogmatics, the work of Al-Ghazálí has been to fix and solidify the system of orthodox theology to such an extent that it is hardly possible to conceive of its ever again becoming a living stream. His books remain; his arguments stand; but his spirit has departed.

It will be seen, then, that Al-Ghazálí occupied a place between the Mu'tazilites and the hide-bound theologians of his day. As Al-Ash'arí accepted the method of the Mutakallimín, and used these against themselves, so Al-Ghazálí accepted the authority of reason, but reason enlightened by faith, which is the light which God casts into the soul, as the only means and standard of interpretation of the Qur'án, the traditions of the Prophet, and the sayings of the Companions (Aṣḥáb).

Professor Macdonald argues that only through a study of Al-Ghazálí is there any hope that Islámic theology will yet break the iron bands by which it is now held. This is true, if we mean by 'a study of Al-Ghazálí' the carrying out of investigation into the teaching of the Qur'án and of the traditions, in the spirit of Al-Ghazálí.

The mere study of his books will lead Islám no further in dogmatics. For he has set it down plainly that in his opinion any opposition to what he considered orthodox Islám, on the part of the contentious, ought to be put down by the power of the sword ; and under this class of 'contentious' will undoubtedly be classed all who nowadays seek to dispute the authorized exposition of the Faith.¹

Al-Ghazálí, while he was in some respects a fearless investigator, was yet strongly influenced by his environment, and limited by the conditions of the intellectual attainments of his day. Far in advance of the mass of his contemporaries in many ways, he was yet strongly influenced by the accepted beliefs and superstitions of those around him ; and in much his credulity was amazing. Further, his blind acceptance of the 'Faith of the Fathers'² as the true faith, and their interpretation of traditional belief, is so absolute, that there can be no room, without casting his theories to the winds, for any reconstruction of the Faith, or any other interpretation of the Qur'án.

What Islám requires at present, if it is again to become a living and growing theological system, is a new renovator, who will enter upon his studies in the light of reason emancipated from the darkness of the scholastic modes of thought and of the so-called scientific knowledge which was current in those early times.

Whether there is any room in orthodox Islám for such a renovator is very doubtful. In India all such attempts have been stigmatized as being simply a return to the

¹ See *Madnün bihi*, pp. 37 ff.

² See *Iljam*.

position of the Mu'tazilites ; and the tendency at present is said to be to a return to the hard and dead theology of ' orthodoxy '.¹

We have already said that according to Al-Ghazálí while *belief* is the first, and in one sense the main, element of religion, it must be associated with *works*. In the letter known as *Ayyuhá'l-Walad* ² he writes that as a man in the desert who has a hundred swords and other weapons is not protected by the mere possession of these from the attacks of a lion, but must use them to defend himself against the wild beast, so the man who has a head-knowledge of a hundred thousand *questions* will find that without works, his knowledge is useless. A sick man may know that certain drugs will cure him ; but only a use of these drugs will actually benefit him. A hundred years of study will not prepare a man to meet God. Al-Ghazálí's position may be summarized by adopting the words ' Faith without works is dead.'

In the *Minhá* ³ Al-Ghazálí compares belief ('ilm) to a tree ; works (al'ibáda) are the fruit. The tree has the greater honour, because it bears the fruit ; but a fruitless tree is useless. Faith is not an end in itself ; it is only a means to an end. He who believes that God exists ; that he has revealed himself to man, demanding of him certain actions and inner feelings ; that there is a day of judgement lying in the future, when a man shall be called to account for what he has believed and for what he has done, must, unless he is a fool, recognize that the main

¹ See Farquhar's *Modern Religious Movements in India*, pp. 99 and 347.

² p. 99 f.

³ p. 5.

thing, after all, is to live so that he shall escape in the day of judgement. To this end he must learn what the duties are which God requires of him ; and set himself to accomplish them.

But even this is not enough ; for it is not the mere outward performance of certain duties which is required. There are inner feelings and dispositions of the heart which man must know, so that he may be able to rise up against all that is evil or impure within him and acquire all that is pure and noble. This is to be attained through a life of *devotion*.

He tells us in the *Minháj*, that it was in the hope of teaching men the crying need for such a vital religion that he wrote the *Iḥyá'*. And he adds that, in rousing men to realize the need of making some real attempt to escape from the deadness of mere formal religion, one of the greatest and strongest influences that can be brought to bear on the human conscience, is that of fear. He had found this to be so in his own experience ; it was only the terrors of Hell that finally drove Al-Ghazálí himself to cast himself on God, as he puts it in the *Munqidh*, and abandon the world and all its allurements. Man must be brought to understand the terrors of the Fire, and his own inability to stand the awful torments that await him if he die unrepentant ; so that he may be induced to turn in repentance from the sins and vanities of this world, and seek the favour of God. Only when he realizes the terrors of Hell which yawns before him, will he be aroused to seek to please God, that he may find perchance a way of escape.

¹ See *Minháj*, p. 9 ; and the section on the description of Hell in the *Iḥyá'*.

CHAPTER IV

AL-GHAZÁLÍ AS ŞÚFÍ

IN this chapter we do not propose to describe the life of Al-Ghazálí as a Şúfí, but desire rather to speak in a general way of his teaching on the necessity of vital religion and the possibility of having an experimental knowledge of spiritualities.

We have seen in the preceding chapter that, according to Al-Ghazálí, religion consists of three parts—Belief, Works, Experience of spiritualities ; and we have already discussed briefly Al-Ghazálí's position with regard to the first two, which make up what may be called *formal* religion, using the word *formal* in a technical sense ; for even with regard to works, he maintains that mere outward obedience to precepts is not sufficient, but must be accompanied by a true desire to please God. As he himself puts it, the believer must in all his quest for a knowledge of divine things, as well as in the punctilious performance of his religious duties, seek all and do all for the glory of God (ta'dhíman lahu).

But while the believer must be orthodox in his beliefs and obedient in his service, neither true belief, nor the most punctilious service, nor the two combined, are sufficient to secure him *salvation*, or fit him for the highest joys of the life to come. Orthodoxy in belief, and whole-hearted obedience will undoubtedly secure him ultimate entrance into paradise ; but this is not *salvation* ; while the quality and extent of his future joy and happiness depend on other things than these.

By *salvation*, Al-Ghazálí means absolute escape from the fires of hell. All true Muslims will attain paradise ; but most of them will attain it only after passing, for a shorter or a longer period, through the fires which, while they are penal, are also purgatorial.¹ Thus, the saved, according to Al-Ghazálí, are the few who pass directly into paradise without first entering the fire.²

To attain this salvation, far more is necessary than to be an orthodox and strict Muslim. It is possible that some may escape hell fire through a special and particular outpouring of the abounding mercy of God, or in virtue of the mediation of others ; but such an escape is so problematic that one cannot wisely count upon it.

In holding that the most orthodox faith and the most strict performance of one's religious duties do not afford any guarantee that the believer will escape the torments of hell, Al-Ghazálí was true to the convictions and beliefs of the early Muslims. None of them had any assurance that they would be saved, in this sense of the word. And, in truth, there is no such assurance to be found anywhere in orthodox Muslim teaching. The true believer, must simply submit himself to the divine will. If God please, of His grace, to give him entrance into paradise, without first causing him to pass through the fires of hell, well and good ; it will be a supreme act of grace and mercy. But the believer must be ever ready, should God will it, to pass through the fires, and there expiate the sins and evils of his earthly life.

¹ See *Faysal*, p. 24.

² See *Faysal*, pp. 23, 24 ; *Iḥyá'*, p. 136.

Orthodox Islám holds out no 'hope of salvation', and can therefore never be a religion of joy and confidence.¹ Nor does Islám point out to a man how he can overcome his sins and evil self, and thus qualify for direct entrance into heaven, and the enjoyment of the highest happiness of which he is capable.

For such a means of cleansing, Muslims in all times have turned to Şúfiism. In the time of Al-Ghazálí, as both before and after his day, there was more than a proneness to distinguish and contrast Islám and Şúfiism. There was, of course, a Şúfiism which was non-Islámic ; and there appears to have been a tendency on the part of Muslim Şúfis to break away from formal Islám as soon as they had reached a certain stage in their Şúfí life. In all religions there has been a similar tendency among those who have followed the path of the Mystic.

It must be put to the credit of Al-Ghazálí that, though he was not the first to realize that there could be a Şúfiism which was Muslim as well as a Şúfiism which was non-Muslim, he was, so far as we can judge, the principal agent in bringing about the public recognition of this fact. From the time that his books became generally known, and his views were accepted, there was no further question of denouncing a man as an unbeliever simply because he was a Şúfí. There was even no question of

¹ It is true that for those who die fighting for the faith, the gates of paradise are said to be opened ; and this expectation of immediate entrance into the gardens of delight, and escape from the torments of hell fire, has been the cause of much of the fanatical courage which has, from the earliest times, characterized Muslim warriors ; but this belief is no real part of the faith as a theological system.

suspecting him solely because he followed the way of the Şúfis.

But while Al-Ghazálí may thus be said to have gained for Şúfiism a recognized place among Muslims, he insisted most strongly that there could be no true Şúfiism apart from revealed religion. There must be a historical foundation for belief and for one's knowledge of God's will, and nothing must be permitted or accepted by the Şúfí which runs counter to this revelation. Şúfiism, he maintains, will never enable a man to dispense with revealed religion, or free him from the duty of performing its prescribed observances.¹ Hell, he says, quoting a reported saying of the Prophet, is full of faqírs, who through wandering away from the truth of revealed religion, have made shipwreck of the faith.

The freedom of the soul from all that fetters it and prevents it from rising, is the object of the seeker; and according to Al-Ghazálí, one of the first things which a man must seek to understand is the mystery of his own nature. Besides the body and the animal spirit which gives the body life, and which man shares with the brute beasts, man has a spirit or soul which is akin to the divine.² It is this which distinguishes him from the lower animals; it is, in fact, the real man. To understand this is a primary necessity. Further, the seeker must learn

¹ *Mishkát*, p. 36.

² The word *akin* must, however, be taken figuratively; for Al-Ghazálí carefully states that when God 'breathed into men' nothing passed out of the divine into the human. Man's soul is not an emanation from God: it is created. See *Maḍnūn Es-Sāghir*, p. 51.

the qualities, characteristics and dispositions of this soul ; wherein its nobility consists, and wherein lies the possibility of its defect and ruin. He must know what passions can possess it ; what motives can influence it ; and how these passions and motives may be purified and controlled. A man's life, then, must be a continual struggle. To begin with, he must have clear ideas and thoughts concerning realities and vanities, so that he may know which are the things that are enduring, and which are those that are temporary and evanescent. He must know, in other words, that the world around him is a fleeting show ; that there is an unseen world which deserves more truly the name of *real* ; he must be able to see the difference between truth and falsehood in speaking ; and he must know wherein consists the difference between virtue and vice.

But beyond this struggle to think clearly and judge distinctly and act rightly, there is a further struggle awaiting him ; namely, the struggle against the passions within ; through victory in this struggle, he achieves continence and temperance, using the latter word in its full meaning ; for he has yet to encounter all those emotions of the soul which may be summed up under the one word *anger*. Through conquest of these, he acquires *gentleness*.

But all this, in the life of the Sufí, is but a means to an end ; for even such a life of inward struggle and outward watchfulness, does not of itself qualify him for the highest happiness of which man is capable.

In the world to come, there are degrees and stages—not that the believer passes from one stage to another after

entering therein ; but according as he has prepared and fitted himself in the course of his earthly life, so will he find his happiness in the life to come. The believer's happiness hereafter depends not so much on what he has believed, nor on the strictness with which he has fulfilled his religious duties, but on what he has *been* in himself.

Complete happiness is to be found by each soul in the full satisfaction of those needs and desires, the partial satisfaction of which gives him pleasure here on earth. The true believer who in this world has never advanced beyond the pleasures of the senses, will find his joy and pleasure in the world to come in the complete gratification of the senses ; for the highest and completest happiness of which he will be capable will consist in the full satisfaction of these sensuous desires and appetites. ¹

Evidently, Al-Ghazálí held that when the soul returns to the resurrected body, all the desires and appetites of the ' nafs ' (the lower nature) remain as they were before death. Those who had purified themselves remain pure ; those who had struggled in vain against the lower nature or had yielded to it without struggle, remain as they were and find in the gratification of the appetites and desires of this nature the highest good and pleasure of which they are capable. The reason why he held this view was that these pleasures are spoken of in the Qur'án, and must be taken as literal, for it is possible to take them so, and according to his canon of interpretation, one must not

¹ *Al-Madnûm bihi*, p. 84. Yet elsewhere he says that the pleasures of the appetites (kul ludhdhát shahawát ed-dunyá) cease at death, for they depend upon the ' nafs '. *Kimiyá'*, p. 521.

pass from one stage of interpretation to another unless the lower (here, the literal) is impossible.

Similarly, he who finds his chief joy on earth in intellectual attainments and pleasures, will hereafter find his complete happiness in the full satisfaction of his intellectual longings.

But the man who has advanced beyond these and, having realized that his real self is spiritual (akin to God Himself), has found his chief pleasures on earth in the purification of this spiritual nature, and the freeing of it from the trammels and fetters of this passing world and all its weaknesses and evils, and has thereby attained to at least a partial understanding of spiritual realities, will hereafter find his true and full happiness in the world of spiritual attainments, whereby he approaches the Deity, and becomes like him.¹

Such is a short and imperfect statement of Al-Ghazálí's doctrine of happiness. Now, according to Al-Ghazálí, the means whereby a man can attain to this spiritual happiness, is twofold. There are, two paths which lead to true spiritual knowledge—that knowledge of spiritual realities which may be described as experience of them. One of these is study ; the other is the path of practice. Some may reach the goal by the one and some by the other. The former path is, according to Al-Ghazálí, the harder and the longer ; and few among men are so gifted with intellectual attainments as to be able to traverse it without falling into one or other of the many pitfalls by

¹ See *Mizán*, p. 17.

which it is beset. Indeed, for most men it leads only to doubt and unbelief.

The other path, that followed by the Şúfís, is, he states, the easier for most men ; for it does not depend on intellectual capacities and mental abilities. In itself, it is true, it is also a path of difficulty, and is likewise beset by many a pitfall ; yet of the two it is the easier, and therefore the more suitable for most men. ¹

We have already said that the highest joy and pleasure of which man, who is a spiritual being, is capable, lies in the realization of spiritual truth, or, as Al-Ghazálí puts it, 'the knowing of spiritual realities' ; and the highest and ultimate goal of this knowledge is God Himself. Further, the greater and deeper a man's knowledge of God, the greater and deeper is his happiness.

To understand what Al-Ghazálí means by this, we must consider a little more in detail his theory of knowledge, and his conception of existence. Knowledge is various. It may be divided into two main divisions ; that which depends ultimately on revelation (Shar'í knowledge), and that which depends on reason ('Aqlí knowledge). Yet the two are not really in themselves distinct ; for he adds, 'Most Shar'í knowledge is 'Aqlí to him who knows it, and most 'Aqlí knowledge is Shar'í to him who understands it.' ²

It is not necessary for us to consider the divisions and subdivisions of the former ; but it is to be noted that even in the matter of Shar'í knowledge, reason comes into

¹ *Mizán*, p. 49.

² *Risálatu'l-Laduniyya*, p. 15.

play ; for some of the truths of this department of knowledge, are inferences or deductions from the fundamental truths which have been received by divine revelation, that is, from the verbal statements of the Qur'án, while others are the outcome of analogical reasoning based on similarly established beliefs and convictions. ¹

Under the second division ('Aqlí knowledge), we find Mathematics, Astronomy, Logic, Natural Sciences, and Speculative Knowledge. One of the sub-divisions of this last is Speculative Theology.

Now the knowledge of the Şúfís is not solely either Shar'í or 'Aqlí ; it is a compound knowledge, for it depends partly on revealed truth, and partly on speculation.

For the individual the two sources of knowledge are human teaching, and Divine teaching. ² This latter is of two grades or degrees ; Inspiration (wahy) and Enlightenment (ilhám). Through inspiration, God taught the prophets ; but after Muḥammad the door of inspiration was closed. Enlightenment, however, which is the means whereby God teaches the saints (al-awliyá') persists. In one passage Al-Ghazálí defines this enlightenment (ilhám) as the awakening of the human soul by the Universal Soul in proportion to the purity and degree of receptivity and preparedness of the former.

Now, every man can know spiritual truth ³ but every one cannot know it in the same degree ; because all have

¹ *Risálatu'l-Laduniyya*, Chapter III.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 23-6, 28,

³ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

not arrived at the same degree of purity or receptivity, or preparedness. Every man is born 'alá fitratın', which may be translated 'with right religious feelings and disposition', and therefore has potentially the power of knowing, because of the original purity and the original attributes of the soul. But the souls of all men are more or less sick through evil.

We speak of a man's knowing; but it is the soul which knows. Indeed, knowledge is the one thing which the soul desires for itself; all else that the soul seeks or desires, it seeks or desires for the sake of the body with which it is associated in this present life, or, as Al-Ghazálí would rather put it, in this present visible world, but from which death releases it.

But after all, we must still ask the question: What is knowledge? To answer this question, Al-Ghazálí falls back on figure and metaphor. The soul is like a tablet on which things are written. For the purified soul which has separated itself from all evil, and turned away from the world and all its passing desires, looks towards its Maker and Creator alone; and God, in his providence approaches such a soul completely and gives it a divine look, and takes a pen and engraves on it all His various knowledges, and the Universal Reason becomes the teacher, and the sanctified¹ soul becomes the taught, and all knowledge arises (yaḥsulu linnafsi), and there is engraved on it the picture of everything without learning and without thought.

¹ i.e. separated from the world.

A more favourite figure with Al-Ghazálí, however, is that of the mirror. The human soul is a mirror ; it reflects the realities of the spiritual world. On account of its imperfections and on account of the spots and blemishes which mar its originally bright surface, it reflects these imperfectly, or even in a distorted fashion.

Knowledge is the image of these spiritual realities which the soul reflects. And the highest knowledge of the soul, and that which alone causes it true joy, is the reflection of God Himself.

What prevents men from knowing God, is not that God is far away or that He hides Himself ; but that the mirrors which ought to reflect Him, is for some one of many reasons unable to give a correct image of Him.¹

But what of this world of realities which the soul reflects more or less clearly ? There exist, according to Al-Ghazálí, two worlds, the seen and the unseen.² Speaking generally, the seen is symbolical of the unseen. All that is apprehended by the senses and the intellect is but a type, as it were, of the unseen—a parabolic representation of something which is more truly deserving of the name of 'real', the *haqíqa*, the true being.³ These types do not necessarily resemble the unseen reality in form or shape or even nature ; but they stand to the unseen reality in form or shape or even nature ; but they stand to the unseen reality as illustrations, and have in themselves

¹ *Jawáhir*, p. 14. *Mizán*, p. 43.

² Of the other three-fold division into '*álám al-mulk*', '*álám al-jabarút*' and '*álám al-malakiút*', it is not necessary here it speak.

³ *Al-Jaháwir*, p. 35.

such powers and attributes and qualities and modes of action, that, in a certain sense, they represent it.

The Qur'án, so Al-Ghazálí tells us, is full of such symbols, and uses throughout symbolic and figurative language to represent spiritual truth. Such language is employed because in no other way could man understand the divine relations; and he admits that at times figurative language is employed even with the object of hiding, as through a veil, the unseen, which most men could not understand were it revealed, and concerning which many would but argue and contradict, had any further revelation of the truth been given.¹

Man lives as in a dream. Death is the awakening.² As one interprets one's dream on awaking, and thus learns the reality of the things which were typified by it, so when man awakes at death, he will understand the true reality of those things which here on earth he knows only through type and symbol. So long as one remains here on earth, bound by the trammels of the body and the animal life, and animal desires which form part of his composite nature, one can never attain to a full or uninterrupted knowledge of the divine realities.

Now, all knowledge of spiritual truth comes from God. Some time He imparts it directly—sometimes indirectly. With regard to its attainment man stands in one of three grades. There is first potential knowledge. As the infant has the capacity to learn to write, for instance, but cannot yet write, so man, at the outset, has the capacity to know spiritual truth. Following this, there comes the

¹ *Jawáhir*, pp. 40, 41.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 36-8.

grade in which a boy has knowledge of the letters and can form them. He can write, but his knowledge is yet imperfect. It has not attained its maximum. So it may be with man in regard to the truths of the spiritual world. Finally there comes the grade of the skilled clerk, which may be compared with the position of the man who is well conversant with spiritual realities. Yet even here in this last grade, there are degrees or stages, and according to the degree or stage reached there are to be distinguished the prophets, the saints, the wise, and the learned. The highest stage of these is that of the prophet who knows by divine inspiration, without learning or acquiring knowledge.

This knowledge of spiritualities brings one near to God. Now, the only way to receive this knowledge—for it comes as a gift from God, and is not strictly speaking *acquired*—is to be prepared to receive it by purifying the spirit or soul as a mirror must be cleansed and polished if it is to reflect aright the image of what is before it. Man's soul must be clean; and then the good things of God will flow out on it and be reflected in it. It is, therefore, the outflowing of the grace of God on the human soul which is the ultimate desire of that soul.

This brings us to speak of the passage in the *Mishkát* in which Al-Ghazálí, after interpreting the verse in the Qur'án which speaks of God as the light of the Heavens and the Earth,¹ expounds the tradition concerning the seventy (thousand) veils which hide the face of God from man.

¹ Súratu'n-Núr xxiv. 35.

He divides men into three main classes according to the nature of these veils. It is to be noted that in this classification Al-Ghazálí is not judging men by the standard of their character. In the *Iljám*¹ he has made it clear that in his opinion, for he was always an orthodox Muslim, the one great sin—that which not only cuts a man off from having any hope of experiencing the divine forgiveness, but also prevents him from having a true knowledge of God, is misconception of theological doctrine. All other sins are but minor matters compared with this, the sin of shirk. And it is with this thought in mind that Al-Ghazálí has drawn up his famous classification of men which is found in the *Mishkát*.²

1. The first class includes all those who are veiled by *pure darkness*; in it we find (1) Professed Atheists, who look out upon the world and regard it as all in all; they deny that there is any God and any life to come. (2) The practical Atheists, who are so concerned with the present life that they never truly realize that there is anything more, and who thus, by their life and deeds, though not in word, deny the existence of God and the life hereafter. In this second subdivision, Al-Ghazálí places Sensualists, Worshippers of Power and Brute Force, Mammon-Worshippers, and Worshippers of Fame and Glory.³

All in this first class, whether belonging to one subdivision or the other, are veiled by pure darkness, because they have no conception of the existence of a spiritual

¹ p. 33.

² See further Chapter 5.

³ The word *worshipper* in the foregoing is to be taken wholly figuratively.

world at all. No ray of spiritual light has reached them. Many of them (it must be of the second subdivision) may indeed be professing Muslims, who say, 'There is no god but God,' but who make such a profession from false motives and incentives, such as fear of the authorities, or pressure of public opinion, or even from mere fanatical adherence to the faith of their fathers. It is most interesting and instructive to note that Al-Ghazálí here admits that outward profession of Islám without inward spiritual knowledge puts one no higher than this first class of those who are veiled by pure darkness.

2. The second class are those who are veiled by light and darkness mixed. In this class are included all who have some conception of the existence of God and of a spiritual world, however imperfect or mistaken this conception may be, as well as all those who, while they have accepted the revelation of the Qur'án, have for various reasons gone astray in their theology. Thus we find in the first division of this class all who have taken as the object of their worship some *Object of sense*, and they may be subdivided into worshippers of inanimate objects of beauty (image worshippers, for instance), worshippers of animate objects of beauty, be they human beings, animals, or trees, Fire worshippers, Star and Planet worshippers, Sun worshippers, and Light worshippers, among whom are to be included the Dualists.

The second division of this class includes all who are veiled by light mixed with darkness arising from *Imagination*. Al-Ghazálí evidently intends by such, all who, because they cannot conceive or imagine anything wholly

different from the outward forms and shapes of material objects, or anything wholly dissociated from the circumstances and relations and accidents with which material objects are always associated, have therefore held views of the Deity which are tinged with these preconceptions. Here we find (a) The Anthropomorphists (Al-Mujassima) and (b) the various sects of the Karramíyya or those who deny all accidents to the Deity except 'jihat fawq' (upward direction).

All these are unable to conceive a Deity whom they cannot present to their imagination. He must have some form or shape, or at least have some relation which can be defined only in terms of form or shape or direction. Their conception of God cannot therefore be truly spiritual. They are misled by their imagination.

The third division of this class includes those who, while they accept the revelation of the Qur'án and its teachings, fall into error through some false inference, or deduction of the *Intellect*. Here come in all those who, not being able to understand that the attributes of God may be described by words which cannot be taken (when employed in speaking of the Deity) in the exact sense in which they are used when speaking of man, fall into the error of limiting the attributes of God by the corresponding attributes of man.

3. The third class are those who are veiled by light alone. This class includes those who have freed themselves from all anthropomorphic conceptions of the Deity and have understood aright the *spirituality* of God, and who have understood further that in describing or

defining the attributes of the Deity we employ words such as *speech, will, power*, etc., in a different sense from that which the words have when used to describe the attributes and powers of human nature, but who from the very glory of the light itself are unable to comprehend the true relation of the First Cause to the world which He has created.

The first division of this class includes those who hold that God directly moves the heavens (spheres) and directs them.

The second division includes those who have advanced beyond this, and have recognized that the spheres being many, the One God cannot be the mover of all; for this would be to deny His Unity in action. They, therefore, understand that each sphere must have its own mover (or Angel); and that there is an outer sphere containing all the others, and that God is the mover of this outer sphere alone.

The third division includes those who realize that the direct moving of any body must be an act of service and obedience and worship of the Lord of all the worlds. They, therefore, hold that it is an Angel who moves even the outer sphere, and that he does this at the command of God (Al-Muṭa'). God is therefore the mover of all, not directly, but by way of command. This supreme angel stands to God in the relation in which the moon stands to the sun.

All these are veiled by pure light alone.

4. A fourth class, Al-Wásilun (those who attain) are alone unveiled. It has been revealed to them, in addition

to all the foregoing, that to the obeyed one (Al-Muṭaʿ) there has been attributed even by those in the third division of the preceding third class something irreconcilable with absolute Unity and complete perfection. Al-Ghazálí most tantalizingly adds that the explanation of how their position involves this, is a secret mystery which cannot be divulged in this book. Perhaps the difficulty in the mind of Al-Ghazálí which led him to deny that the Muṭaʿ could be the ultimate First Cause (Al-Wujúd al-Haqq—Alláh) lay in the thought that, if so, then the word of command could not be eternal, but must be *ḥadīth*; for it is given to a created being, and must thus take place in time, after the creation of the mover of the outer sphere. It is not difficult to see how this question could not be appropriately discussed in a book such as the *Mishkát*; and perhaps Al-Ghazálí had no answer to give. (A command presupposes some one commanded.) They, therefore, recognize that this Muṭaʿ is not God, but stands in a relation to God (Al-Wujúd al-Haqq) similar to that of the sun to Absolute Light or of the glowing coal to the Pure Essential Fire.

The Wásilun, therefore, turn away from the mover of the outer sphere, and from him who commands it to be moved (al-Muṭaʿ) and reach out to a Being who transcends all that is to be apprehended by the perception or by the conception of those who look for him (the speculative theologians); for they have found Him to be transcendent, separated from all the Beings and the Spheres and all else that has been previously described.

God, then, is not the immediate Agent, either in creation, or in the providential government and direction of the universe. He does not even give the word of command whereby the world is created and ruled. What He is and how He acts, man cannot know ; but that He is and that He acts, man can realize through experience. Had Al-Ghazálí known anything of electric phenomena, he would most probably have used the illustration of our ignorance of what electricity is while we perceive electric phenomena, to throw some feeble light on what he conceived the relation of God to be towards the universe which He created. It seems strange that Al-Ghazálí's keen mind did not lead him to see that the posting of the spheres and the angels who move them, was really a limiting of the power and nature of God, through ' false analogies of the reason ' ; and that reason, apart from the analogies drawn from human governments and human systems of administration, does not demand these.

It is surprising that it did not occur to him that God's methods of action and government are not to be conditioned by those of mankind ; but that the divine methods of action and causation must be far surpassing anything that man can comprehend, and must not be limited by conceiving them as in any way similar to those actions of human beings which are expressed by the only words we can employ to define or describe the corresponding actions of God. It is difficult to understand why he did not see this with regard to the acts of God, when he saw it with regard to the attributes.

Apparently he never saw that to use these words in describing the actions of the Deity and His relations to the world was not necessarily to do anything contrary to the idea of the true Unity.

It would have been more reasonable of him to assert the creatorship of God, and the divine Government and direction of the world, as orthodox Islám does, and to add, 'the manner of it is unknown, and to ask questions about it is innovation (al kaifa majhúl wa's-su'ál 'anhu bid'a).'

It was no intellectual necessity but the so-called scientific theories of the times which led Al-Ghazálí to accept the complex system of the spheres. He apparently accepted these as almost self-evidently true, and therefore any attempt at explanation of such matters by mere speculative theology necessitated, to his mind, the whole series of spheres with their angels and First Cause, and thus led to the removal and banishment of God from the whole world-scheme.

It is only, according to Al-Ghazálí, when this absolute transcendence of God is realized that the true spirituality of the Deity is conserved.

Thus, it is not enough to remove from the mirror of the soul all its blemishes and imperfections. However pure and clean the soul of man may become, a man cannot attain to a true realization of God so long as he endeavours to *conceive* what the nature of God is; for in such a case he will still be held down by the bonds and fetters of *imagination*, which is quite unable to free itself from the ideas associated with form and shape and space

and the various relations which these imply. Imagination cannot reach God ; nay, it hides God.

Nor can the *Intellect* grasp Him ; and every attempt to say What or Who God is in His nature and Being, must be avoided : for to employ words to describe or define Him, however carefully one may explain the sense in which they are used, only leads to misconception, for they necessarily retain something of the meaning which they have when they are used to denote human powers and human attributes, seeing that from their very essence, being human speech, they describe the relations and powers of embodied men.

Even the desire of spiritualities in preference to the vanities of this world must be avoided. To bring out this point, Al-Ghazálí employs the illustration of the position of the lover in the presence of his beloved. The lover who, in the presence of the object of his affection, compares his experiences with the lesser joys and pleasures of life, is not for the moment whole-hearted in his devotion. The true lover, when in the presence of his beloved, knows not aught else. His whole being is absorbed by the object of his affection ; and, for the moment, naught else exists for him. His every thought, and feeling, and emotion must be so absorbed by the beloved that he is indifferent—unconscious indeed—whether aught else exists. He must even lose consciousness of his very joy ; lose himself, in fact in his beloved. Similarly, the seeker after God must lose himself in God ; he must not even be conscious of the greatness of his desire after God, for that would mean

that he is comparing this desire with other desires and realizing that this is greater than these.¹ He must be solely receptive, not desirous; and then God Himself will do all, and the seeker will experience—'taste' is Al-Ghazálí's word—the blessedness of beholding God, a blessedness which cannot be described, for no words or figure of speech can truly express it; it is a mystic union of spirit with Spirit which, however, according to Al-Ghazálí, must not be described as 'oneness'. The seeker loses, as it were, his consciousness of self as apart from God, yet never comes to that state which some falsely or mistakenly claim to have reached and which they describe as finding consciousness in God. The seeker who thus attains, 'tastes and sees that God is good,' yet knows not what he tastes and sees—knows not even while he tastes and sees, that it is he who enjoys this experience. Thus, all sense of a personal God is lost.

Through such experiences, fleeting and intermittent here on earth, the soul, according to Al-Ghazálí, is prepared for the absolute and ultimate joy of the continuous and unending experience which is spoken of as beholding the Face of God.

Islám shows a man how to walk with acceptance before God here on earth; Şúfiism teaches him how to enjoy God here and hereafter.

¹ See also *Ihya'*, 4. pp. 137-8.

CHAPTER V

AL-GHAZÁLÍ AS THINKER AND EXPOSITOR

AFTER Al-Ghazálí had once come to the conclusion that human reason is reliable, and that, when it is enlightened by God, it is capable of judging between what is true and what is false in the sphere of religious truth, he set it up as the standard whereby all knowledge which is based either on sense-perception or on apprehension through intellectual processes must be judged. Nothing is to be accepted which is contrary to reason. There are spheres of truth which lie wholly outside the domain of reason ; truth in these spheres may be experienced or 'tasted' by man's soul ; such truths are apprehended directly and not through the reason, yet even such truths, so far as they can be explained and put into language, must be judged also by reason, for they cannot be contradictory to its necessary premises.

There are thus two kinds of knowledge—intellectual, and experimental—and beyond these there are experiences which can hardly be classed as knowledge at all.

Now all interpretation of the Qur'án comes under the category of intellectual knowledge and must, therefore, be absolutely subject to the judgement of the reason. So certain is this that any interpretation which appears to contradict reason is to be doubted, and if its contradiction to reason be established, it is to be forthwith rejected.

Starting from such a premise, Al-Ghazálí was naturally a logical thinker and interpreter. When speaking of that which he *knows* he never ventures beyond the conclusion which he can syllogistically draw from his premises. But we must remember that, in his judgement of what is reasonable and what unreasonable, he was wholly dependent on the standard of his times. The environment in which he lived, and the so-called scientific knowledge of his day formed that standard. He accepted, for instance, the whole system of superstition bound up with magic and sorcery and the use of charms and talismans as reasonable, and he did this without a qualm, never apparently even suspecting that it might be challenged as unreasonable. In the *Munqidh*, for example, he employs the supposed magical virtue which was attributed in his day to the Badúh,¹ as an illustration to silence the objections of those who suggested that there could be no real efficacy in the number of genuflections, prostrations, and repetition of words in the orthodox prayer ritual.

In his *Hikmatu'l-Makhluqát*, to take but another instance, much of his argument is valueless in our days, because it rests on contemporary belief and knowledge which we now know to be false or ill-founded.

Thus, while Al-Ghazálí was a logical thinker, it is impossible to admit that all his conclusions are true ;

¹ The Badúh is a square divided into nine smaller squares in which were written the letters of the alphabet which represent in numerical value the nine digits ; these were arranged so that they added up the number fifteen, whether taken horizontally, vertically, or diagonally, after the manner of what is well known as ' the fifteen puzzle '.

for many of the premises from which he argues, though admitted in his day, can no longer be conceded. His whole argument founded on the acceptance of the theory of the 'spheres', as developed in the *Mishkát*, falls to the ground with the fall of that grotesque system of the universe with which it was bound up.

Similarly when he maintains, as he does in the *Iqtisád*,¹ that it was by the proof of reason that he came to know that Muḥammad was indeed true in what he relates, we are again forced to object that he found reasonable much that we find unreasonable, for he started from premises which we cannot admit. It is to be noted, of course, that he did not claim that human reason alone was able to judge whether Muḥammad was true or not, but that human reason enlightened by divine light could do so. 'I believe in the truth of Muḥammad (May God bless and preserve him) and in the truth of Moses (on whom be peace) not alone because of the splitting of the moon, or the turning of the rod into a serpent . . . but because I learned the Balances (Syllogisms) from the Qur'án, and weighed all the teachings regarding the divine nature and attributes, and also the condition of the resurrection, and the torment of the tomb, and the torment of the wicked, and the reward of the obedient, as I have mentioned in the *Jawáhiru'l-Qur'án*, and I found that they all agreed with what is in the Qur'án and what is in the traditions (*akhbár*), and so I became certain that Muḥammad is true, and that the Qur'án is the truth . . . and

¹ p. 2.

my knowledge of the truth of the prophet (May God bless and preserve him) is 'necessary' (ḍarúriyya) as your knowledge is when you see a man discussing any question of *fiqh*, and do it well, and produce a true and clear jurisprudence. For you do not doubt that he is a *faqih*. And your certainty with regard to him is clearer than it would have been were if the result of seeing him change a thousand rods into serpents.¹

Now in this judgement Al-Ghazálí depended not on pure reason, nor even on reason enlightened by God, but on the whole intellectual atmosphere engendered by Islám itself, and on the scientific knowledge of his day. Had he been able to judge Muḥammad and the Qur'án in independence of his preconceptions and of so-called scientific knowledge, he would have found that there were many things of which Muḥammad had apparently a poor grasp, and that much that is contained in the Qur'án is contrary to fact. The stories taken from the Old Testament, for example, are misrepresented and mistold; the teaching of the Prophet with regard to marriage and divorce are far from satisfactory; the statements with regard to the torment of the grave are unacceptable fables.

Let us, however, turn now to look at Al-Ghazálí's methods of argument.

Al-Ghazálí always wrote with a purpose, and this purpose is not merely or even principally that his hearers or readers may have knowledge. Mere knowledge is useless. The object with which he wrote, he

¹ Qustás, pp. 82-4.

tells us himself, was to quicken spiritual life. He desired to move not so much men's minds as men's wills—to help towards the establishment of a real and vital religion. With this object one cannot but sympathize, and one cannot but admire the incessant labours with which he sought to attain his purpose.

At present, however, we desire to consider briefly the method by which he attempted to accomplish the great task he had undertaken. He maintains that in preaching and writing for the general public you must argue from the circumstances and standpoint of the reader or hearer; and in controversy from the beliefs of your opponent, though you may not personally stand where your audience stands, or hold the beliefs which your opponent regards as axiomatic. In other words, one must appeal to men—to their failings and their feelings; the object in view being to influence them rather than to demonstrate certain truths,¹ if you can influence them by appearing to admit the truth of their own beliefs, any argument based on these beliefs, though they may be contrary to your own, is to be employed. It is interesting to remember here what Al-Ghazálí says of the method by which Muḥammad endeavoured to bring the Arab tribes to accept his teaching and himself as their prophet. Professor Macdonald has said that Muḥammad was largely an opportunist. This is only another way of stating the fact that he too endeavoured to move men's wills rather than to inculcate definite truths. And Al-Ghazálí in his writings follows

¹ See *Risálatu'l-wa'dh*.

what he believed had been the practice of the prophet. In very much of his argument he is not so anxious that you should have full knowledge as that the knowledge you have should lead you to act as he believes you ought to act.

This being so, we are sometimes in a quandary to know whether the premises from which Al-Ghazálí argues are to be taken as being his own standpoint, or merely that of his audience. We cannot, that is, be absolutely certain that Al-Ghazálí is expressing his own views. In saying this we do not intend to suggest that he was hypocritical in what he said ; for the conclusion towards which he argued and which he desired his audience to reach was his own, but we cannot always feel sure that he reached this conclusion by the same path as that by which he sought to lead his hearers.

One troublesome result of this method of argument is that he often makes general statements which were in accordance with the popular conceptions of the day, but which he would undoubtedly have modified somewhat by defining or restricting or guarding the terms he employed if he had been expressing definitely and exactly his own personal convictions and opinion. This practise of making general statements which were in accordance with orthodox and popular belief led him sometimes into apparent inconsistencies.

As an illustration of this let us look at what he says on the subject of whether Christians are *káfirs* (unbelievers). In the second section of the *Faysal*, he most clearly and definitely states that Christians are *káfirs*, because they

deny the claim of Muḥammad to be a prophet, and to avoid any ambiguity as to what is meant by the expression *káfir*, and the consequences, as he understands them, of being a *káfir*, he adds, 'that means that they remain for ever in the fire.' But when we come to the eleventh section of the book we find him saying that he holds that many Christians will attain to paradise. They may not absolutely escape the fires of hell, but they will not remain there for ever. In this latter section of the book, he explains his position by stating that what he means is that many of the Christians are not really deniers of the claims of Muḥammad because they have never heard of him. These cannot, therefore, have rejected him. Others of them have never had Muḥammad's claims put properly before them, but have only heard from their youth up that Muḥammad was a false prophet and impostor; these too, therefore, cannot be regarded as having had the claims of Muḥammad set before them. They do not belong to the class of the *Mukallafín* (those who are responsible) and seeing that they have not in any true sense rejected Muḥammad and Islám, they cannot be called *káfirs*. Thus the apparently divergent statements are to be explained.

In the *Mishkát*, too, we find Al-Ghazalí including Christians among the light-and-darkness-veiled class of mankind. It is probable that the same explanation may here again relieve him of the charge of real inconsistency.

Similarly, when in the *Munqidh* Al-Ghazalí speaks of God as being the Maker and Orderer of the world, we should perhaps understand that he was employing the

words simply against the position of all who held that the world was eternal or was an emanation or selfmanifestation of Alláh ; while in the *Mishkát* he was endeavouring to explain from the point of view of speculative theology the relation of Alláh to the world which He had created. Somewhere ¹ Al-Ghazálí employs the figure of the relation of the Sultán to his vizier to illustrate the relation of Alláh to the world. The vizier it is who actually gives orders ; the Sultán only expresses his will to the vizier ; yet we can truly say that the Sultán orders, because the vizier in giving orders is simply acting for the Sultán. Thus we may say God orders and yet when we come to express the truth more definitely and exactly, we must say (according to Al-Ghazálí) that Alláh does not actually order, but merely expresses His will in some way (which Al-Ghazálí does not attempt to explain) to the 'One who orders' the spheres to be moved. So thus again, the inconsistency is seen to be more apparent than real ; it arises through the making of a general statement in the language of popular orthodox Islám without a careful definition and guarding of the terms employed.

At other times an apparent inconsistency occurs through the almost fond love Al-Ghazálí has for the use of figures and illustrations. Indeed, he is seldom satisfied with one illustration. Very much of what he says is expressed in figurative language, and one must keep this in mind and not endeavour to press the figures too far. He held that there are ideas and experiences which human speech is incapable of expressing in exact terms, and that these

¹ I have lost the reference and cannot again find it.

can be expressed or rather suggested only by symbolical pictures, and he was himself aware that misunderstanding must arise if these word pictures are taken as exact statements.

Further, he admits that in the Qur'án figurative language is, at times, employed to conceal rather than to reveal, and one cannot but suspect that sometimes Al-Ghazálí himself follows what he believes to have been the practice of the prophet, and uses illustrations with the object of avoiding a clear-cut and definite statement which might arouse opposition and contention. By the use of the illustration he was able, when he so desired it, to make an appeal to the imagination and feelings of his audience, and yet escape making a definite statement. He hid behind the vague picture of his figurative language.

In this connexion we must also consider Al-Ghazálí's position with regard to freedom of thought and investigation. We have already seen that, on the whole, his labours made for freedom, but that there was at the same time no small vein of intolerance running through his theological system. This inconsistency is a much more serious matter than the mere verbal contradictions or apparent contradictions arising from want of exactness or clearness in the use of terms, such as those of which we have been speaking.

It will be remembered that, as soon as Al-Ghazálí had found intellectual assurance through faith in the truth of Muḥammad and the authority of the Qur'án, he proposed to investigate the doctrines and teachings of the faith in the light of reason, with the object of establishing them

on what, in his opinion, was a more sure and certain foundation than that on which they had previously rested.

His fight with the scholastic theologians was bitter and fierce. He claimed that they had no ground for maintaining that they were the sole repositories of the faith and the only guardians of any reliable demonstration of its reasonableness and truth. He denied that the mere assertion of the theologians that such and such a statement was the truth handed down from the fathers, and that such and such a demonstration had satisfied them, could in any way be regarded as satisfactorily establishing the faith. Moreover, he claimed that every investigator must be free to demonstrate the truth in his own way and only by what appeared to him to be the best method of establishing it ; and this demonstration, when shown to be in accordance with reason, placed the faith on a surer foundation than any that could be laid by the mere assertion that such was the faith of the fathers.

The establishment of this position, on which he took his stand, may be said to be one of the main works he accomplished for Islám.

But when we come to investigate his opinions and teachings we find that the application of this principle was limited. He claimed freedom for himself and for others whom he considered as but slightly his inferiors in learning and intellectual capacity, but it was for this class alone that he claimed freedom.

The private believer or the private investigator had no right to put forward any similar claim. Any one who

endeavoured to investigate the same truths independently, or who refused to be bound by the consensus of opinion he not merely regarded with suspicion, but opposed with intolerance. They were 'contentious', and against the contentious Alláh had already whetted the sword. Not merely those who professed Islám but conducted themselves in such a way as to bring discredit on it by their personal behaviour and action were to be coerced, but also those who, refusing to accept what was by common consensus the true faith, appeared unreasonable and insisted on investigation on independent lines must be compelled to be silent by the civil authorities, or, if necessary, be actually put to death. The theologians alone were to be free; the common people were to be made to conform. On this subject Al-Ghazálí is most definite and clear in his statement.¹

In taking up this position, Al-Ghazálí was simply manifesting the deep effects which the whole intellectual atmosphere of Islám had produced upon him. The very air he breathed was laden with the poison of intolerance; and we must recollect that he accepted the truth of Islám 'by faith', and could therefore never acknowledge that the faith as handed down from the founder through the fathers was a fit subject of investigation or criticism. It is because of this blind acceptance on his part of the orthodox tenets of the faith that we have said in a former chapter that the work of Al-Ghazálí never has led and never can lead to true liberty and advancement.

We must now turn to consider Al-Ghazálí as a com

¹ See *Iljamu'l-'Awam*, p. 37 ff.

mentator. There is one aspect of his speculative theology which dominates wholly his attitude towards the question of the proper method of interpretation. It is his conception of *existence*. It will be recollected that we have already shown how Al-Ghazálí held that there are two worlds—not the present and the future, but the seen and the unseen ; for both are ever present, and it is only man's physical conditions that prevent him from living constantly and continuously in the unseen.

Of these two worlds, it is the seen that is, in truth, the unreal ; for it is merely typical of the unseen. By this, of course, is not meant that the seen has no real existence, but only that it is not enduring and permanent. It is fleeting and evanescent ; while the unseen is enduring and therefore the real—not enduring in itself in the sense that it is eternal, but enduring in the sense that it continues as long as God wills ; while of the seen world God has already willed the passing away.

Now God has so created everything in the seen world that it is typical of something in the unseen. Nay, it may be typical of more than one reality.¹ Thus, when we come to the matter of the interpretation of the Qur'án, we find Al-Ghazálí making full use of this conception of the existence of things. In the *Faysal* he develops his theory of the reality of things in his discussion on the subject of *belief* and *unbelief*.

Belief consists in the confession or acknowledgement that all that the Prophet said existed does exist ; and unbelief lies in affirming that anything which he said

¹ See *Jawáhir*, p. 35 ff.

existed does not exist. But there are five ways or modes of existence; and it is because of want of attention to these five modes of existence that men have come to disagree so much and to charge one another with unbelief. Al-Ghazálí maintains that all who accept what the Prophet said in any one of these modes of existence is not to be regarded as denying the same. He may be mistaken in his understanding of what the Prophet meant, but he is not a káfir. Al-Ghazálí then goes on to explain and exemplify each of these modes of accepting the statements of the prophet.

1. There is first *real existence* which does not depend in any way on the object being seen or perceived. The senses and the reason may indeed picture the object which exists, and this may be called *knowing* or *perceiving* it, but the existence of the object does not depend on the senses or the reason, for it exists independently of them. Most of mankind, says Al-Ghazálí, attain no further than a knowledge of this mode of existence.

2. Beyond this real existence, there is a further existence which is connected with and dependent on the *senses*. This existence is the representation which is formed in the eye, for example, of the object seen, and does not exist apart from the seeing eye. It is the peculiar possession of the senses. For instance, a sleeper or a sick man may see things which have no outward existence or reality. Thus the prophets and saints during their waking moments and while in complete health have beautiful pictures of spiritual relations, and by means of these visions they receive revelations of unseen things.

Such, for instance, says Al-Ghazálí, was the vision which the Virgin Mary saw ; and similarly Muḥammad on many occasions saw Gabriel. So too, adds Al-Ghazálí, it is possible to see in sleep the Prophet himself, for he said, ' He who sees me in sleep, truly sees me.' Yet to say that the vision of the Prophet is possible does not imply that the Prophet in person leaves Madína for the place in which the sleeper happens to be living.

3. The third mode of existence is that of *imagination*, by which Al-Ghazálí means a mental reconstruction of something which has actually been seen. This picture exists in the brain, not in the senses, in contradiction to that form or mode of existence spoken of in the preceding paragraph. Here, the eye does not really see at all ; it is the mind which reconstructs the picture which the eye has primarily seen.

4. The next mode of existence is that connected with the *reason*, and by this mode Al-Ghazálí refers to the meaning which is intended by the use of a symbol or word. For instance, when we speak of *the hand* we sometimes mean not the actual hand, but something symbolized by the hand such as power, ability, authority, without conjuring up the picture of the actual hand, or seeing it even in imagination. Thus, we say that power, force, ability, authority, is the *intellectual* hand, and similarly we may speak of the *pen*, meaning that whereby knowledge is engraved, without conjuring up in our minds the picture of a reed.

5. Finally, we come to the fifth and last mode of existence—*symbolic* existence. The difference between this

and the fourth mode is that here the thing itself does not exist at all actually or even pictorially. It is neither outside the senses nor in the senses, neither in the brain as an imaginary picture, nor in the intellect as a meaning or conception ; but there exists something else which resembles it in some one or other of its qualities, so that you understand it if the symbol is mentioned in explaining or interpreting a matter. Examples of this last mode of existence may be seen in the interpretation of those passages which speak of the anger, the joy, the patience of God, or in similar expressions describing the divine action and feelings. In the *Madnûnu's-Saghîr* ¹ Al-Ghazálí tells us that that which causes similar effects to those which are caused by joy or anger or patience in man are spoken of as the joy or anger or patience of God, while they are not really similar to these human passions or feelings.

In his exposition of the Qur'án and of the sayings of the Prophet, Al-Ghazálí follows the preceding scheme. But it is to be noted that he inserts a caveat, that one must not pass from one grade of existence to another in his search for a fitting interpretation without due cause, that is, unless it is absolutely necessary. A thing which may exist in reality must not be interpreted as belonging to one or another of the other modes of existence, and on no account must the interpreter pass from one mode to a lower in search of what appears to him to be a reasonable interpretation until he has proved to his complete satisfaction that the statement cannot be true on any of the higher planes of existence.

¹ p. 51 f.

The whole scheme is in many ways most unsatisfactory, and gives rise to many and great difficulties. It will be clear to any intelligent thinker that the object of the scheme is not to arrive at the original meaning of the teachings of the Qur'án, but to find some way of explaining statements which are crude and unacceptable to an enlightened mind. It is undoubtedly true that Al-Ghazálí often interprets the words of the Qur'án in such a way that they are made to mean something far different from what they conveyed to the minds of those who first heard the words.

In fact, Al-Ghazálí's method of interpretation and exposition drives a way roughshod through the words of the Qur'án quite irrespective of what Muḥammad may have meant, and must have appeared to many to be leading to its absolute destruction as a reliable source of faith. He fails to distinguish between the teaching of Muḥammad to the men of his day, and the meaning which the words may be twisted to express. 'Things are not what they seem' may be taken as the keynote or motto of Al-Ghazálí's system of interpretation.

Another evidence that Al-Ghazálí never succeeded in freeing himself from the influences of his upbringing and environment is to be found in the fact that while he professed to believe in Jesus as a prophet, and referred frequently to the Gospels and the sayings of Jesus, he apparently never sought to understand the true doctrines of Christianity. There are so many references in his writings to the sayings and deeds of Jesus that one is almost inclined to believe that he must have had

intercourse with Christians during his wanderings in Syria.¹

Al-Ghazálí was in many ways a thorough investigator and a fearless thinker, and it casts considerable light on the limits beyond which he could not go, to find that apparently he did not investigate the teachings of Christianity. Here, again, he took refuge in his acceptance of the truth of Islám 'by faith', and into the truth of Christianity he did not carry his researches, though he must have had opportunities of doing so. The point we desire to emphasize is that he professed to speak of Jesus and to quote His sayings yet never investigated for himself the truths which Jesús taught. In the *Munqidh* he speaks most severely of those who attempt to criticize the systems of the philosophers without understanding them, and one cannot but express surprise that he himself ventured to speak of the Christian doctrine of the Deity of Christ when apparently he did not in the least understand it. In the *Mizánu'l-'Amal*² he classes the belief of the Christians with regard to the deity of Christ with that of those who maintain that union with God is possible to such a degree that one can say, as did Al-Halláj, 'I am the truth,' 'Peace be on me.' Apparently Al-Ghazálí believed that the Christian teaching was that Jesus, through Šúfí practices, attained to union with God. The only conclusion we can come to is that Al-Ghazálí was so bound up by the system which he had

¹ For a review of Al-Ghazálí's acquaintance with the life and sayings of Jesus, see *The Moslem World*, April 1917; and *Islám at its Best*, by S. M. Zwemer, D.D.

² p. 30.

accepted 'by faith' that beyond it he did not dare to carry his investigations.

Let us conclude with a word on Al-Ghazálí as an ethical teacher. Of him Tholuck wrote, 'This man, if ever any have deserved the name, was truly a "divine", and he may be justly placed on a level with Origen, so remarkable was he for learning and ingenuity, and gifted with such a rare faculty for the skill and exposition of doctrine. All that is good, noble, and sublime that his great soul had compassed he bestowed on Muḥammadanism, and he adorned the doctrines of the Qur'án with so much piety and learning that, in the form given them by him they seem, in my opinion, worthy the assent of Christians . . . his sincere piety and lofty conscientiousness imparted to all his writings a sacred majesty. He was the first of Muḥammadan divines.'¹

It is probably no exaggeration to say that Al-Ghazálí stands out among Muḥammadan writers as the greatest ethical teacher of his generation, but in the space at our disposal it is impossible to treat as it ought to be treated this side of his character and work. Admitting in a general way the truth of the Tholuck's encomium, it is, however, necessary to state that even in his ethical ideas and teachings Al-Ghazálí did not succeed in freeing himself from the prevailing mode of thought which saw in wrong intellectual conceptions of God and the divine nature sins more damnable than any of the vices to which a man might give way. In the *Iljám*, in connexion with his argument that those who are not by education and

¹ Quoted in *The Alchemy of Happiness, Wisdom of the East Series*, Introduction, p. 14.

training specially qualified to investigate the niceties of theology should leave it alone lest they fall into unbelief, Al-Ghazálí writes: 'And if you ask me what is to be done if a man's heart cannot keep from thinking and investigation, I reply that it is best for him to busy himself with the service of God and prayer and the reading of the Qur'án and *dhikr*. And if he cannot do this, then let him take up the study of some other science which has no relation to this (theology) such as etymology, or grammar, or writing, or medicine, or jurisprudence. And if this be impossible, let him take up some trade or handicraft, even if it be only farming or weaving. And if this be impossible, then let him give himself to some play or pastime: for any of these are better for him than wading into this deep and dangerous sea. Nay, if the common people occupy themselves with the sins of the body it would probably be safer for them than entering into investigation into the knowledge of God (theology). For the end of these is lewdness (*fisq*), but the result of this is unbelief (*shirk*), and God will not pardon the sin of unbelief, though He will pardon anything less than this.' ¹

It was the narrow and soulless doctrine of the fathers which Al-Ghazálí had accepted that compelled him to write thus, and it is difficult to believe that such was his own personal opinion. In any case, it was but a counsel of desperation for the few and must not be taken as expressing in any real sense his ethical position. He was better than his creed, and the goal to which he sought to lead men was indeed 'noble and sublime'.

¹ *Ilja' mu'l-'Awámm*, p. 33.

APPENDIX

THE following list includes works by Al-Ghazálí which have been published in Egypt, mostly within the last fifteen years, and which, with perhaps one or two exceptions, are easily obtainable from any bookseller in Cairo.

Ihyá'u-'Ulúmi'd-Dín (The Vitalising of Religion). (The title of this book is usually translated *Revival of the Sciences of Religion*, but the above translation gives a better idea of what Al-Ghazálí meant by the title. His object in writing it was to make religion vital and practical). Four vols. Maymaniyya Press, Cairo, A.H. 1322 and A.H. 1334.

The *Ihyá'* is divided into four parts, each containing ten Books. 'The first of the forty is on 'Ilm (Knowledge, Science). The second is on Kalám (Theology). The last is on Al-Mawt wa ma ba'dahu (Eschatology). All the others are experimental, traditional, practical.' (Macdonald in *Encyclopædia of Islám*.)

An Abridgement of the *Ihyá'* entitled *Ma'wá 'idhátu'l-Mu'minin min Ihyá'i 'Ulúmi'd-Dín* by the As-Sa'áda Press, Cairo, A.H. 1325.

Kitábu'l-Arba'in [The Book of the forty (sections)]. Kurdistán al-'Ilmíyya Press, Cairo, A.H. 1328.

An Abridgement by the author, himself of the *Ihyá'*. It was written as a companion volume to the *Jawáhiru'l-Qur'án*, but has no real connection with it.

Al-Kitábu'l-Wajíz. (The Short Book) two vols. Adáb and Mu'ayyad Press, Cairo, A.H. 1317.

On Fiqh (Canon Law). Apparently an early book.

Al-Kitáb'l-Mustasfá (The Choice Book). Two vols. Government Press, Boulac, A.H. 1322.

A more comprehensive book on Fiqh, written after he began to teach again at Naysabúr.

Mi'yáru'l-'Ilm fi Fanni'l-Mantaq (The Standard of Knowledge concerning the Science of Logic). Kurdistán al-'Ilmíyya Press, Cairo, A.H. 1329.

Mihakku'n-Nadhr fi'l-Mantaq (The Touchstone of Judgment in Logic). Al-Adabíyya Press, Cairo, no date.

Maqásidu'l-Falásifa (The Aims of the Philosophers). As-Sa'áda Press, Cairo, A.H. 1326.

A statement of their teachings on all subjects save the absolutely demonstrable, professes to be a hikáya (Macdonald in *Encyclopædia of Islám*).

Taháfutu'l-Falásifa (The Destruction of the Philosophers). Al-'Ámira Press, Cairo, A.H. 1321.

Demonstration that they could not by reason prove their system (Macdonald in *Encyclopædia of Islám*).

Kitábu'l-Iqtisád fi'l-I'tiqád. (Moderation in Belief). Al-Adabíyya Press, Cairo, no date.

On Kalám (Theology properly so called).

Kitábu'l-Maḍnūn bihi 'alá ghairi ahlihi (The Book of what is kept back from those who are not worthy of it). Al-Azharíyya al-Misríyya Press, Cairo, A.H. 1328.

Esoteric teaching of Knowing and Seeing God; on Angels, Jinn, Evil Spirits; on Miracles; on Eschatology.

Kitábu'l-Maḍnūni's-Saghír (The Small Book of what is kept back). Al-Azharíyya al-Misríyya Press, Cairo, A.H. 1328.

Esoteric Exposition of the verse 'Then shaped him and breathed of His Spirit into him'. This book is also known as *Al-Ajwibatu'l-Ghazzálíyya*.

Mishkátu'l-Anwár (The Niche for Lights). As-Sa'áda Press, Cairo, A.H. 1325.

Esoteric Exposition of the verse 'God is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth.' 'His Light is like a niche in which is a lamp, etc.'

Jawáhiru'l-Qur'án (The Jewels of the Qur'án). Kurdistán al-'Ilmíyya Press, Cairo, A.H. 1329.

A collection of 'Best Verses' of the Qur'án, with an introductory section on 'What the Qur'án teaches'.

Al-Maqsadu'l-Asná Sharh Asmá'i'lláhi'l-husná (The Loftiest Aim is the Exposition of the Beautiful Names of God). At-Taquaddum Press, Cairo, A.H. 1322.

Exposition of the Ninety-nine Names of God, with introduction showing that to know them one must attempt to attain to the qualities they express, so far as man can do so.

Al-Hikmatu fi Makhlúqáti'lláhi [Wisdom (shown) in God's Creations]. As-Sa'áda Press, Cairo, A.H. 1326.

On the Wisdom of God as shown in His works.

Ad-Durratu'l-Fákhira (The Precious Pearl). *Khayríyya* Press, Cairo, A.H. 1322.

On Eschatology.

Risálatu'l-Laduniyya [A Letter on (Knowledge) which comes from Him]. Kurdistán al-'Ilmíyya Press, Cairo, A.H. 1328.

On Knowledge; maintaining the reality and superiority of knowledge received direct from God by enlightenment (ilhám) or inspiration (wahy).

Kimiyá'us-Sa'áda (The Alchemy of Happiness). Al-Adabiyya Press, Cairo, no date.

On the nature of man; a man must know his own soul and its needs; what he was created for; wherein his true happiness consists; wherein his misery lies; in order that he may know God. Only in a true knowledge of God can he find a means of changing his evil character into a good character. The Alchemy of Happiness is to be found only in the store-house of God.

Mizānu'l-'Amal (The Balance of Works). Kurdistān Al-'Ilmīyya Press, Cairo, A.H. 1328.

On how faith must be accompanied by works : the method of the Šūfis—to attain by 'practice'—is preferable to that of those who seek to attain by obedience and 'study'.

Faysalu't-tafriqati bayna'l-Islāmi wa'z-Zandiqa (Decision in differentiating between Islām and the Atheists). As-Sa'āda Press, Cairo, A.H. 1325.

Showing what are the essentials of belief, to reject which is unbelief, and incidentally showing that much that is supposed to be essential is not so : generally advising moderation in judging and condemning others.

Al-Qustāsu'l-Mustaqīm (The Right Balance). At-Taquadum Press, Cairo, no date.

Written against the Ta'limites who held that there must be an Imām to whom one can repair for guidance : to show that Muḥammad is a sufficient Imām, and that there is no need for any other.

Kitabu Iljāmi'l-'Awamm (The Bridling of the Commonalty). Al-Azharīyya al-Misrīyya Press, Cairo, A.H. 1328.

On the Faith of the 'Fathers' : that this Faith is the Truth : that belief is of six degrees, varying each from the other in strength : what God demands is the matter of belief. The book takes its name from the position maintained in it by the author—that the 'common people' should be interdicted from the study of Kalām (theology).

Bidāyatu'l-Hidāya (The Beginning of Guidance). Hamīdiyyatu'l-Misrīyya Press, Cairo, A.H. 1317.

Divided into two sections : 1. Obedience ; practical advice on how to perform one's duties properly. 2. Avoidance of Sins ; on cleansing of the heart, on keeping company with God.

Al-Munqidhu min aḍ-Ḍalāl (The Deliverer from Error). Al-Jamalīyya Press, Cairo, A.H. 1329.

Autobiographical statement of how he was led to certainty of belief : how he was constrained to give up teaching and seek seclusion : why he afterwards resumed teaching.

Al-Imlā'u 'an ishkálāti'l-Iḥyá' (The Dictated Statement on the disputed passages of the Iḥyá').

In margin of the 1334 edition of the Iḥyá' and also in the margin of Sayyid Murtaḍá's Commentary on the Iḥyá'.

A defence of certain passages in the Iḥyá' for which he was criticized and attacked.

Minháju'l-'Ábidín (The Path of the Devout). Othmaníyya Press, Cairo, A.H. 1313.

An Explanation of the path in which the devout must walk and the difficulties they will encounter, and how these are to be overcome. The opening paragraphs of this book form the best possible commentary on Al-Ghazálí's experience as related in the *Munqidh*. This was his last book, and was dictated.

Al-Adab fi'd-Dín (Fitting Behaviour in Religion). Kurdistán Al-'Ilmíyya Press, Cairo, A.H. 1328.

A short exposition of how a Muslim must act in the performance of various duties, in certain circumstances and relations.

The book is quite unlike Al-Ghazálí's usual style, and, if it is his, was probably written early.

Risálatu Ayyuhá'l-Walad (Letter entitled 'O Boy'). Kurdistán Al-'Ilmíyya Press, Cairo, A.H. 1328.

A short Pastoral Letter on Faith and Conduct.

Al-Qawá'idu'l-'Ashara (The Ten Rules). Kurdistán Al-'Ilmíyya Press, Cairo, A.H. 1328.

Very brief summary of general advice on religious matters. Quite unlike Al-Ghazálí's usual style. Perhaps also an early production. It is stilted, after the manner of many Arabic writers.

Risálatu't-Ṭayr (Letter entitled 'The Birds'). Kurdistán al-'Ilmiyya Press, Cairo, A.H. 1328.

A short Parable. Perhaps another early piece.

Risálatu'l-Wa'dh wa'l-I'tiqád (Letter on Preaching and Belief). As-Sa'áda Press, Cairō, A.H. 1325.

A very brief Letter on Preaching and Belief. The latter part is a summary of the essentials of Muslim Faith.

Risálatu'l-'Aqá'id (Letter on the Tenets of the Faith). As-Sa'áda Press, Cairo, A.H. 1325.

A Letter to Málík Sháh on the doctrines of Islám and the Duties of Rulers and Governors.

At-Tajridu fi Kalimati't-Tawhíd (A Monograph on the Statement of the Unity). As-Sa'áda Press, Cairo, A.H. 1325.

An Exposition of the 'Kalima'; There is no God but God, and Muḥammad is the Prophet of God.

At-Tibru'l-Masbuk (Molten Gold). Al-Adáb wa'l-Mu'ayyad Press, Cairo, A.H. 1317.

A Letter addressed to Muḥammad Ibn Málík Sháh. 'An Ethical Mirror for Princes' (Macdonald in *Encyclopædia of Islám*). Said to have been written by Al-Ghazálí in Persian and afterwards translated into Arabic. The real authorship is doubtful.

Mukáshifatu'l-Qulúb (The Unveiling of Hearts). Government Press, Boulac, Cairo, A.H. 1300.

Abridgement of a work ascribed to Al-Ghazálí, but of doubtful authorship.

The subjects treated are those usually classed under Adáb (Ethics; Morals, Customs, Practices).

Al-Kashfu wa't-Tabyín fi ghururi'l-Khalqi Ajma'in (Disclosure and Explanation of the delusions of men in general). Printed in the margin of As-Sha'rání's Tanbíhu'l-Mugh^htarrín. Al-Maymaníyya Press, Cairo, A.H. 1324.

A book whose object is practical: it seeks to show how many, who consider themselves to be truly religious, fail to be so. On p. 120 Al-Ghazálí shows the self-delusions of those who think that truths and principles can take the place of a knowledge of God Himself.

Ar-Risálatu'l-Qudsiyya [Letter on the Holiness (Transcendence) of God].

This letter was incorporated by Al-Ghazálí in the *Ihyá'* as the Third Section of the Second Rub' of Book I. So Al-Ghazálí himself tells us in the *Kitábu'l-Arba'in*, p. 27.

This letter is sometimes wrongly called the Jerusalem Letter, under the impression that it was written to Muslims in Jerusalem (Al-Qúds), but undoubtedly the name refers to the subject of the book.

Kitábu Qawá'idil-'Aqá'id (Rules on the Articles of Belief).

This Al-Ghazálí himself tells us in the *Kitábu'l-Arba'in*, p. 27 is the Second Rub' of Book I of the *Ihyá'*.

For a complete list of Al-Ghazálí's works, see Professor Macdonald's article in the *Encyclopædia of Islám*.

The following should also be consulted: Professor Macdonald's article on Al-Ghazálí in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 20, and the chapters in his *Muslim Theology*. *Gazáli* by Carra de Vaux. Paris 1902. *Al-Ghazálí's Miskát Al-Anwár and the Ghazálí Problem*, by W. H. T. Gairdner (Special Reprint from *Der Islam*, Strassburg, July 1914: *Islám at Its Best*, by Rev. S. M. Zwemer, D.D.

In Arabic, the following are indispensable:—

Biographical and critical article in *At-Tabaqátu'sh-Sháfi'iyyatu'l-Kubrâ*, by Abú Naşr 'Abdu'l-Wahháb Ibn Taqíyyi 'd-Din as-Subkí (died A.H. 756). Al-Husayniyya Al-Misriyya Press, Cairo, A.H. 1324. (The article is in vol. iv).

Biographical and critical article in the Commentary to the *Ihyá'* by As-Sayyid Murtaḍá. Ten Volumes; Al-Maymaníyya Press, Cairo, A.H. 1311.

The article is in vol. i, and is very valuable. The author has copiously borrowed from the above-mentioned article by As-Subkí, and in some places quotations from As-Subkí are so indistinctly delimited that without the *Tabaqát* one might think that the opinions given are those of Murtaḍá when in reality they are those of the former writer.

A full list of Al-Ghazálí's works will be found here; it also contains other valuable information.

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MUSLIMS IN CHINA

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MUSLIMS IN CHINA

BY

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اطلبوا العلم ولو بالصين

Search for knowledge even in China.

Muhammad.

MUSLIMS IN CHINA

THE famous Arab traveller of the fourteenth century, Ibn Bâtûta, in the record of his travels in China, says that in many towns he found Muslims, who dwelt in a separate quarter, apart from the other people, that they had their own mosques, Qâdîs, and other officials, who decided all matters concerning the internal affairs of the community, and that they were honoured and respected by the Chinese.

Professor Vasilyeff, a Russian writer, who has dealt with the subject of Islâm in China, as it was some forty years ago, considers that the Musalmâns there form a progressive community, and that the influence of Islâm will, in the future, be widely felt. He says: 'If Islâm some day succeeds in establishing its political supremacy over China, and then claims the allegiance of the mass of the population to its faith, will it meet with a refusal? We think not.' Whilst there is not much fear that such an ascendancy of Islâm in China will ever come to pass, for the days when it can become a successful ruling power in any part of the world are gone for ever, and even in China it has lost ground, still its progress and present position in that land, not so well known as their importance demands, form a subject of great interest both to the politician and the missionary. Excellent modern authorities on it are *Le Mahométisme en Chine*,

by M. Dabry de Thiersant, formerly the French Consul-General in China; and *Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois*, by Le Commandant D'Ollone and others (Paris 1911). It is to their writings that I am indebted for most of the facts which are here given.

The first Muhammadans who came to China were Arab merchants. It is said that commercial relations with Arabia existed even before the time of Muhammad. A traditional account is that the Emperor, Tai Tsong, of the Tang Dynasty, had a dream in the year A.D. 627, in which he saw a soldier, who wore a turban and was followed by a demon, enter a room.¹ The astrologers, having consulted the stars with a view to explain the dream, reported that a holy man was about to be born in the west, that the soldier came from the kingdom of Arabia, that his slaughter of the demon in the dream, showed that the race he belonged to was strong and powerful. The king of Arabia, who was very rich and powerful, was also a saint, at whose birth many marvelous things happened, and, if friendly relations were entered into with him, it would clearly be to the advantage of the empire. The Emperor after due reflection decided to send an ambassador to Arabia with rich presents for the ruler of that country, and a request that a wise man should be sent, who could deal with threatened evils and give rest to the country. Envoys, of whom one Qásim was the leader, then came from Arabia, and the Emperor recognized in one of them the form and appearance of the man he had seen in his dream. On

¹ Gabriel Deveria in *Centenaire de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, p. 312. (The legend is given in full by Broomhall, *Islám in China*, pp. 64-6; 68-9.)

hearing of the good state of Arabia the Emperor remarked that the teaching of Confucius must have reached that land, to which the envoys replied that it was known to them; but that they had also a sacred book, descended from heaven, called the Qur'án, which was superior to any other religious book in the world, and which contained instruction on matters small and great.¹ Qásim also fully explained the ritual of the namáz and the doctrines of Islám to the great satisfaction of the Emperor who was charmed with Qásim's readiness.² The result was that Muslims were welcomed, treated with respect, and allowed to settle at Nankin and Canton,³ where they built a mosque, called the 'Holy Remembrance'. The leader of this band is called by the Chinese Wang-ka-zi, which means a Companion of the Prophet, or a Şahábi. M. Dabry de Thiersant states that his Arab name was Wabháb Ibn Abú Kabsháh,⁴ that he was an uncle of the Prophet, and that the date of his mission was A.D. 628; but the relationship is not very clear as, according to some accounts, Muḥammad had no uncle. Whoever he was, he was the first Muslim missionary to China. In A.D. 632, he returned to Arabia, but found that

¹ Devéria, p. 314.

² Ibid., p. 315.

³ 'Throughout the T'ang dynasty the Mohammedans seem to have been somewhat favourably treated as traders, doubtless on account of the profit accruing to China. They were protected, allowed to build houses and mosques of a different architecture to the Chinese, and were even permitted to live to some extent under their own rulers.' Broomhall, *Islám in China*, pp. 46-7.

⁴ In a Chinese *Life of Muḥammad*, written by Liu Chih in A.D. 1721, he is called Sa'd Waqqás. He is said to have died in Canton, but the tradition is of doubtful authority. See Broomhall, *Islám in China*, pp. 74-9.

Muhammad was dead. He could not remain at home permanently, and so he returned to Canton bringing back with him Abú Bakr's recension of the Qur'án. He then lived and died at Canton, and pious Muslims made pilgrimages to the tomb of the earliest herald of their faith in China.

The Khalífa Walíd in the early part of the eighth century advanced his victorious army to the frontiers of China. The general of his army demanded tribute from the Emperor. The deputation conveying this mandate appeared before the Emperor richly dressed, highly performed, and assumed a soft effeminate appearance. They entered and retired in silence to the great astonishment of the Emperor. The second day they wore rich black robes, and acted in the same manner. On the third day they entered into the Emperor's presence fully armed and fierce of countenance. The Emperor enquired the reason of this strange conduct, and was informed that they first appeared in the dress they wore when visiting ladies, then in court costume, and lastly, clad as when they went forth to meet enemies. The Emperor being much alarmed at this, and at the news which, at the same time, came from the frontier, assented to their demands, and paid the tribute required. About the same time, A.D. 713,¹ an envoy from the Khalífa refused to prostrate himself before the Emperor, stating that, as a Muslim, he bent the knee to God alone. The Chinese officials wished to punish this breach of court etiquette, but the Emperor excused the conduct of the envoy and did not require him to observe the usual

¹ Gabriel Devéria in *Centenaire de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, p. 307.

ceremonial. As years passed on the Chinese Muslims, as we shall see, became less particular, and conformed to court usage much more readily.

In the year A.D. 758 a band of Muslim soldiers, 4,000 in number, were sent by the Khalífa al-Mansúr from Khurasán to the aid of the Emperor in crushing out a rebellion, raised by a Tartár commander of the Chinese army. The Arab troops defeated the rebels. An alliance between a Khalífa of Baghdád and an Emperor of China seems strange, but their territories were almost or quite adjacent. 'When, in the first century of the Híjra, the famous Muslim General, Qutaiba, crossed the Oxus, took Bukhára and Samarkand and carried fire and sword through Kashgár and beyond Kucha, he was actually on Chinese territory.' ¹

After their work was over, when the Muslim soldiers were ordered to return to Khurasán, they refused and, being assisted by their co-religionists already in China, were able to gain their end. The Emperor had to give them authority to settle in various towns in China. Being compelled by their religious law to marry among themselves, they took as concubines Chinese women, and thus formed a small community from which, in course of time, a large body of Chinese Muslims descended. In some parts, especially near the Tibetan border, the women retain their own religion and often bring up their children as Buddhists,² which shows a considerable laxity amongst their Muslims. It does not appear that any great accessions were made by immigration or by conversions. The chief cause of increase was

¹ Stanley Lane-Poole, *Studies in a Mosque*, p. 293.

² D'Ollone, *Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois*, p. 234.

through marriage alliances, regular and irregular, and by the purchase of destitute children who were brought up as Muslims.

In A.D. 794, the Khalífa Hárúnu'r-Rashíd sent ambassadors to China and also assisted the Emperor in his war against the Tibetans. The political relation thus entered into lasted for some centuries.¹ In the ninth century a Muslim author records a conversation which a traveller, named Ibn Wahháb, held with the Emperor regarding the person and work of Muḥammad and the progress of Islám.² In A. D. 1068, the Emperor Chin Tsoung appointed a Muslim to the oversight of the Arab strangers who came to Canton. This official distributed them in different places and kept a register of their names. This led to a decrease in their number, and for a while their influence became less, and was not regained till they settled in the provinces. The *Akhbáru's-Sin wa'l-Hind* records the adventures of an Arab traveller about the year A. D. 857. He says that no Chinese had embraced Islám, and that the Muslims lived as a people apart under their own Qádis. Ibn Bāṭūṭa, who visited China in A. D. 1324, says that in each province there was a town for Muslims, who were apparently in good circumstances.³

Le Père Lecomte in 1680 writes: 'The Muslims have been in China six hundred years; they are not

¹ Les relations politiques entre les Arabes et les Chinois continuèrent pendant les x^e, xi^e et xii^e Siècles. Dabry de Thiersant, *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, vol. i, p. 73.

² Dabry de Thiersant, *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, vol. i, pp. 77-80.

³ For a fuller account of Ibn Bāṭūṭa's visit, see Broomhall, *Islám in China*, pp. 53-5.

molested, they enjoy liberty, but are regarded as strangers. In some provinces they are very numerous. He does not give an early enough date for the first arrivals in China. A still later writer (A. D. 1735) describes the Muslims as living in peace, increasing their numbers by alliances and marriages and by the care of orphans. He attributes their peaceful condition to the fact that they made no attempt to make converts.¹

The oldest mosque in China was constructed in Canton by Wahnáb Ibn Abú Kabsháh, in A. D. 628 or 629. The roof was similar to that of a pagoda, and at the entrance was a tablet with the Chinese inscription: 'Long life, very long life, to the Emperor.' Suspended on the white walls were texts from the Qur'án, written on silk or paper. The Maulavís had a school close by. Arabic inscriptions were also written on the walls, of which this is a sample—'God ever exists. There is no God but He. Adore Him, pray to Him that your heart may always be with Him. Implore Him to protect you and all the universe.' Engraven on a stone are the words: 'God most high has said: "He only should visit the mosques who believeth in God and the last day and observeth prayer."' The Prophet, on whom be peace, has said: "Whosoever constructs a mosque, God will build for him seventy thousand palaces in Paradise."' This mosque was destroyed by fire in A. D. 1341, but was rebuilt with great splendour. It seems to have been damaged several times, for a long

¹ Dabry de Thiersant, *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, . 57.

² Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 18.

inscription,¹ on the occasion of a restoration of it in 1699, speaks of its destruction and restoration many times in the past.

Professor Vasilyeff writing in 1867, says that there were then in Peking alone 20,000 Muslim families, containing 100,000 persons, and that there were thirteen mosques in that city.² Another writer, in 1873, states that the Muslims were prosperous merchants, in a flourishing condition. M. de Thiersant in 1878 computed the total number of Muslims to be 20,000,000, scattered about in various parts of the Empire.³ This is not an extraordinary number when we remember that some fourteen centuries have passed since the first Muslims settled in the country. This they often did in plague-stricken and deserted districts, which they took possession of, and then increased their number by the purchase of children of indigent parents and by taking concubines from amongst the Chinese women. In a famine which ravaged the district of Chan-Tong, they bought more

¹ These inscriptions in mosques and on old tombs throw much light on the history of Islām in China. Translations of many of them are given by Dabry de Thiersant in *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, vol. i, pp. 94-112.

² Later writers consider that the Muslim population in Peking is much less, though some say there are over thirty mosques there.

³ It was thought that about fifteen millions were in the Provinces of Kansu and Shensi: that before the massacres in Yunan there were four millions there and that the rest were scattered here and there making about 20,000,000; but later writers think this number much too high. Some authorities would place it as low as 4,000,000, whilst others place it at 10,000,000. The probable number lies somewhere between these two extremes. See Broomhall, *Islām in China*, chapter xii.

than ten thousand infants whom they brought up as artisans and as agriculturists.¹

The Muslims are convinced that the future lies with them, and that, sooner or later, the religion of Muḥammad will prevail in the extreme East and replace the various forms of paganism. Professor Vasilyeff is evidently of the same opinion, and views the position with much alarm. He says: 'The question whether China will become Muslim is one of great interest to the entire world. If China should be converted to Islām, then the political relation of the whole east would be considerably modified. The religion of Islām, extending from Gibraltar to the Pacific Ocean, might be a new menace to Christendom, and the peaceful activity of the Chinese, profitable to the nations, might, in the hands of fanatics, become a yoke upon the neck of other peoples, and the march of civilization would be arrested.'² Dabry de Thiersant says that these remarks made a great impression, and that they really expressed the feelings of the Russian Government.

At the time these words were written, there were successful Muslim rebellions, and Ya'qúb Beg then set up an independent kingdom in Yarkand, and was recognized by Russia, Great Britain and Turkey. He seems to have proved a good administrator. Muslims elsewhere looked with interest on what seemed likely to become a strong Muslim State in Central Asia. This state of things naturally lead writers of the period to

¹ Du Halde, quoted by Dabry de Thiersant in *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, vol. i, p. 40.

² Quoted by Dabry de Thiersant in *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, vol. i, p. ii.

express alarm and accounts for the pessimistic views of Vasilyeff. The Chinese, however, reconquered the country and with the death of Ya'qúb Beg in A. D. 1877 this Muslim kingdom came to an end. So whilst we do not accept the view that there was any real danger to China's becoming a Muslim State, yet, if the statement is correct that Russia then viewed the alleged increase of the power of Islám in China as a coming danger, it would account for some of the past actions of the Russian Government. Years ago Dabry de Thiersant described China as in a state of decay, lying at the mercy of the first great Power which might covet her riches, and pointed out the danger of Muslims, in the coming ruin, forming separate states in some of the provinces. Recent events show that whatever reason they may have been in years gone by for such a forecast, no such danger now exists. Islám has had its day of opportunity in China and has failed. Its numerical progress after nearly thirteen centuries has been slow and small; affording a further illustration of the difficulty its propagation, unless aided by force, meets with in countries possessing a higher civilization than it brings.

The Muslims differ both in character and in physiognomy from the Chinese proper, and show clearly that they are a mixed race. The Arab, Tatar and Chinese blood may be traced, though all are so blended as to form a new type. The original source was the band of 4,000 soldiers who early settled in the country. Three centuries later, when the conquest of Jenghis Khán opened up a way of communication between the east and the west, many Syrians, Arabs and Persians came to China. Some were merchants, some soldiers, and all

more or less settlers. They were men strong in physique, active in habits, and they soon established themselves in the various localities in which they settled. These strangers, envied by the people of the country for the political freedom they enjoyed, possessed every facility for increasing their numbers. Descendants of Chinese women, the present mass of Chinese Muslims bear marked traces of a foreign origin, though this is much more pronounced in some provinces than in others. Generally speaking, where they are not numerous, it is not so easy to distinguish them by their features from the rest of the people. The Muslim women, though not so tall as the men, are, generally speaking, more robust and vigorous than the Chinese women. The feet are small, owing to the adoption of Chinese customs, but the lower classes do not cramp the feet of their children. As a race, these Chinese Muslims unite the good and the bad qualities of the Chinese, the Arabs, and the Turks, though they are less bigoted than the latter. Their religion reduces itself to belief in a few articles of faith, to the practice of circumcision and to the abstention from eating pork. Only a very few of their leaders make the pilgrimage to Mecca. They read the Qur'án in Arabic without understanding its meaning. They prefer the occupation of arms and commerce to the cultivation of the arts and sciences. They are very clannish, and are reputed to be honest. As magistrates they are held in great respect, being looked up to as impartial and just in their decisions. Owing to the unity which binds them together, and also to the concessions they make to the prejudices of the Chinese people, they enjoy the same rights and privileges as other subjects, and are not

treated as a foreign body. They are agriculturists, artisans, merchants, and even officials, if they are qualified for such a position. They wear the Chinese dress, but the queue, when worn, is generally concealed under the cap.

The head dress varies in different parts. In the province of Kansu, white and black caps are worn, and this is said to have been the cause of a revolt, the white caps being the symbol of a more tolerant spirit, resented by the others as a departure from orthodoxy. Some say that the colours represent the ancient feud between the Umaiya and the 'Abbásides, but D'Ollone considers that as the custom is not referred to in any edict before A.D. 1781, it has no connexion with early Arab disputes between Sunnís and Shi'ahs, and that it is simply a local custom.¹

Their mosques are not prominent buildings, and the minarets are kept low so as not to excite the superstition of the people. They assist at popular fêtes, and contribute to things in which they have no special interest.

As regards their relation to the State, Chinese Muslims inculcate loyalty to the Emperor, and conform, in a way unusual for Muslims, to certain practices of the State religion. That religion is made up of certain rites and ceremonies performed by the Emperor, and the functionaries who undertake the duties of priests. Sacrifices are offered to propitiate the superior powers. The public officials have to take part in these observances. In prostrating themselves before the Emperor, they are careful not to let the head actually touch the

¹*Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois*, p. 312.

ground which it would do in prostrating before God in prayer. Thus they satisfy their consciences that they have not performed an act of worship. The Muslim functionaries, though they regard the whole of the official ceremonies as ridiculous and superstitious, conform to the law in their own interest and in that of their community. They know that such concessions to paganism are absolutely opposed to the iconoclastic system of Islâm, but they yield to the temptation and hope that under the peculiar circumstances of the case they may receive pardon.¹

The Chinese Muslims require that animals used for food should be killed in the orthodox fashion. The funeral ceremonies accord with Muslim customs. They prohibit the use of tobacco. Authorities differ as to their use of opium in smoking. Gambling and games are

¹ 'Les fonctionnaires Mahometans, quoiqu'ils considèrent ces cérémonies comme ridicules et superstitieuses, ont préféré se conformer à la loi, et se contentent, quand ces obligations leur sont imposées, de faire *in petto* des restrictions que leur foi concilie avec leurs propres intérêts et ceux de leurs correligionnaires. Ces concessions sont, sans doute, loin d'être d'accord avec l'islamisme. Mais ils les regardent comme absolument nécessaires à leur cause, et ils sont convaincus, dans leur âme et conscience, qu'Allah leur pardonnera, en raison des difficultés et de l'importance du but qu'ils poursuivent, cette transgression flagrante de la loi.' (Dabry de Thiersant, *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, vol. ii, p. 174.) They have Qur'anic authority for the compromise they make in the verse: 'Whoso after he hath believed in God denieth him, if he were forced to it and if his heart remain steadfast in the Faith, *shall be guiltless*' [Súratu'n-Nahl (xvi) 108.] The commentators add the words in italics to complete the sense. For an account of the occasion which called forth the revelation, see Sell, *Life of Muḥammad* (C.L.S.), p. 48.

illegal, but they evade this by saying that the Prophet only forbade games of hazard, and allowed draughts and chess, which depend on the skill of the player. As a matter of fact, dice, cards, and betting at cock-fights are common, and the Muslims equally with other Chinese are gamblers. Usury is prohibited. Musical instruments must not be used in private or in public. Vocal music also is improper, though passages from the Qur'án may be chanted at the time of prayer. Dancing is altogether wrong. It is also forbidden to make statues of men or figures of animals: but photographs are allowed.¹ Astrology, divinations, magic, and all calculations based on auguries and dreams, are utterly condemned. In this respect the Muslims have not fallen under the spell of the Chinese custom and practice in these matters. Amongst themselves they use the ordinary Muslim salutations, but to outsiders they use the form common to all. They accept the Sunna as a rule of faith, and their law is based on this and on the traditions, on the unanimous consent of the early disciples and on analogical reasoning. These are technically called the Sunna, Ijmá' and Qiyás.²

Education is regulated partly by the Islámic law, and partly by the State system. At the age of four years, four months, and four days, a lad begins to read the Qur'án by rote. This is called the Bismilláh. When he is about seven years old his general education begins.

¹ It is sometimes said that as the sunlight does this and not man, this pictorial representation of the human form does not come under the prohibitive law.

² For a full explanation of these terms, see Sell, *Faith of Islám* (3rd ed.), pp. 19-40.

The mosque schools are adapted to this purpose, and the Chinese, Arabic, and Persian languages are taught. This education is carried on till the young man is twenty-one years old. Later on, provided he passes the necessary examinations, he can enter the service of the State. If the lad is to devote his life to some manual trade the course of education is different. Girls do not receive a general education.

In each mosque a tablet is suspended on which a Chinese inscription is written, indicating a wish that the Emperor may live for an indefinite time. This is regarded as an official authorization of the erection of the mosque. The tablet is placed near the entrance to the mosque and is either removed, or is covered over during a religious service by a paper on which the name of God is written. The worshippers on entering must bow to it. 'Various expedients are resorted to show that the outward form of worship is done under protest, or is regarded as invalid because imperfectly performed. Some will content themselves by bowing at the side. . . . These things they regard as accidental and not essential evils.' The mosques have no minarets, and the Mu'adh^hdhin announces prayer from the front entrance, and not, as usual elsewhere, from an elevated position. This is done in order not to excite the prejudices of the Chinese people. There are no convents or monasteries in China. There are, however, centres where young men are trained as Mullás.² The Imám and the Mu'adh^hdhin live separately. They enjoy a certain portion of the revenue of the mosque to which they are attached. In

¹ Broomhall, *Islám in China*, p. 228.

² *The Chinese Recorder*, February, 1913, p. 77.

some provinces a certain amount of authority is accorded to them over the Muslim people in matters of religion, but they have no coercive jurisdiction and cases of dispute ultimately go before the Chinese authorities.

In discussions with the learned on religious matters they are careful to say that they differ from Confucianism chiefly in matters of a personal nature, such as marriage and funeral rites, ceremonial ablutions, and the prohibition of pork, wine,¹ and games of chance. The results is that Islám is looked upon by the Chinese as a religion similar in many points to their own. A Chinese writer of the eighteenth century says: 'The Arab religion prescribes for the worship of the Supreme that which Confucius did for the Chang-Ty, and borrows from Buddhism what concerns prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and certain religious ceremonies.'

Syed Ajal Shamsu'd-Dín, also called 'Umar, was a man of remarkable skill as an administrator. His biography has been reproduced in a recent French work—D'Ollone's *Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois* (Paris 1911), pp. 25-181, from which I have taken a few interesting facts, illustrating the life and work of this great man, who died in A.D. 1297. Originally the commander of the royal guard of Jenghis Khán, he became in time the financial minister of Kublai Khán by whom he was appointed Governor of Yunnan, where he made his great reputation. The Emperor on appointing him laid stress on the need of a pacific administration which would give tranquillity to the people.

¹ Pork, when called mutton, is sometimes eaten and the use of wine is not unknown. Broomhall, *Islám in China*, p. 225.

Syed Ajil loyally obeyed the instructions given to him. By peaceful means he gained the goodwill of the people and obtained such influence that in less than six years a good general administration was established in the whole province of Yunnan. He paid much attention to the improvement of agriculture and made extensive irrigation works. He built public granaries for the storage of grain from which supplies were issued to the cultivators. In order to safeguard the people from the dangers of floods, he arranged for a supply of watchmen who gave timely notice of any danger. He established military colonies for the protection of the country, and built rest-houses for the convenience of travellers. He also paid attention to the improvement of the manners and customs of the people, established schools for the education of the young and something of the nature of alms-houses for the aged poor. He was one of the most remarkable men of his age and did much to commend Islám to the people over whom he ruled so wisely and so well.

Islám was introduced into the Yunnan province in A.D. 1275, and soon spread very rapidly. This was probably due to the permanent residence there of the Turkoman soldiers of Kublai Khán, whose trusted official, Syed Ajal Shamsu'd-Dín, as we have just seen, became the first viceroy of Yunnan, now incorporated into the Chinese Empire as a province. There were occasional tumults, but, on the whole, the people lived happily together, and with the exception of a revolt in Canton in the eighth century, no disturbances seem to have taken place until modern times under the Manchu dynasty. The first revolt in Yunnan took place in A.D. 1818, owing to

the lack of justice and the destruction of a mosque. In 1828 and from 1834 to 1840, the Muslims lived in troublesome times. The cause of all these tumults was the bad government of the Mandarins, and when the tumults were put down it was with a barbarity which led, at the earliest opportunity, to bitter reprisals.¹ In a petition by a leading Muslim to the Emperor all this is set forth in detail. The writer goes on to say that the Muslims have lived for a long time in China, have been loyal subjects and ever ready to defend the Empire, that now all his relatives have been massacred and he remains alone and lonely. The Mandarins refuse to listen to his complaints and so he appeals to the Emperor, on whose justice all Muslims trust. The Emperor, in reply, rebuked the Viceroy of Yunnan and reminded him that the Muslims were children of the State, even as others were, and that equal justice must be meted out to all.² A period of peace ensued until 1855, when a great insurrection broke out which lasted until 1874, and in which about two millions Muslims perished. The origin of the trouble was the massacre of sixteen hundred men, women and children, because two Chinese officials were annoyed when the Muslims claimed a just debt from the one, and refused to subscribe to purchase an umbrella of honour for the other. The barbarity shown on both sides was great. Cities and villages ceased to exist and a recent writer³ says: 'The ruins

¹ For a full and detailed account, see Broomhall, *Islām in China*, chapter viii.

² See Thiersant, *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, vol. i, p. 122.

³ J. McCarthy, *The Chinese Empire*, quoted by Broomhall, *Islām in China*, p. 144.

still to be seen tell the sad tale of how fearful the struggle must have been.' Peace was restored at last, but the whole country has been wasted and one-fourth of its inhabitants have perished, or have emigrated. The Muslims have again settled down quietly, but have no hope for the future, and Dabry de Thiersant, looking at the subject from a French standpoint, saw in the adjoining Protectorate of Tonking an opportunity for favourable intercourse with them. He considered that sooner or later, Tonking would become one of the best French Colonies, and that it was to French interests to be on good terms with their neighbours in Yunnan.¹

There is a very curious legend as to the way in which Islám was introduced into the province of Tou-Kiue, about the middle of the tenth century of the Christian era. A ruler, named Satoc, was as a minor, under the authority of his uncle Hárún. One day Satoc when hunting pursued a wounded hare, which seeing Satoc all alone turned and said to him: 'Come, my child, attend to me. Why dost thou remain an idolater, why dost thou not believe in God and in Muḥammad the Apostle of God. I pity you, I do not wish you to go to hell.' Satoc in alarm said: 'How can I be saved?' The Sage, again speaking through the hare, said: 'Repeat simply the words, "There is no god but God

¹ 'La France a un beau rôle à jouer dans l'Indo-Chine, seulement, si elle veut réussir, il faut qu'elle se pénètre bien d'abord de ce qu'elle veut. L'objectif une fois déterminé, il lui sera facile ensuite d'atteindre son but, en étudiant sérieusement les résultats gigantesques obtenus par les Anglais dans l'Inde, et en sachant profiter des leçons du passé.' Dabry de Thiersant, *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, vol. i, p. 151.

and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God"; repeat these words, and you will become a Muslim, will go to Paradise and enjoy all its sensuous pleasures; refuse to do this and you go to the torments of hell.' Satoc forthwith repeated the creed, became a Muslim and asked for further instruction. The Sage, saying that a wise teacher would soon come to him, suddenly disappeared. Some days after a traveller, named Abú Naṣr Samani, came and for six months further instructed Satoc. His uncle Hárún was very angry and wished to put him to death, but before doing so devised a plan by which to test his faith. He ordered him to lay the first stone of a temple. Satoc was advised by Abú Naṣr to consent, with the mental reservation that he was laying it for a mosque and not for an idol temple. Soon after a civil war ensued. Hárún was killed by Satoc who by the sword spread Islám far and wide, making, it is said, thousands of converts in a day.¹ The successors of Satoc were good Muslims and prescribed all other religions except Islám and Nestorianism. It was Jenghis Khán who, in invading this province, proclaimed religious liberty.

The Muslims in China enjoy the same rights and privileges as all the other subjects of the Emperor. All occupations and all offices are open to them, if they have the means and the capacity required. At the same time they take great care not to wound the susceptibilities, or to arouse the prejudices of the earnest disciples of

¹ Dabry de Thiersant says: 'il passa sa vie à guerroyer pour répandre par le sabre la doctrine du Prophète.' *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, vol. i, p. 218.

Confucius. They respect the laws of the Empire and the usages and customs of the people. The Government has, as a rule, shown itself favourable to Islām; and at different periods has issued decrees to the effect that Islām has a good object, that it observes natural and social laws, and that the differences it presents to other religions only concern simple questions of national usage. In A.D. 1289, the Emperor Houpile established at Peking an Imperial college for Muslims, which shows how strong their influence was, even in the capital of the Empire. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the great Arab traveller, Ibn Bāṭūṭa, speaks of the great number of Muslims he found in China. In A. D. 1384, the Emperor Tai-Tson ordered the following statement to be engraved on a tablet: 'The Arab books explain the creation of the universe. The founder of Islām was a great saint, born in the west, he received from heaven thirty volumes of a book which has enlightened the world. He is a great king, the first of saints. He protected kingdoms and their people. He prescribed five daily prayers (namáz) and also mental ones (du'a). The foundation of his doctrine is the worship of the true God. He encouraged the poor, consoled the unfortunate, penetrated into things obscure, and blessed the living. The doctrine conforms to those of antiquity and of the present.'

In A. D. 1730 the Emperor Yung-Shing severely blamed a judge who had reported evil of the Muslims, and said: 'The Muḥammadans are all the children of the soil and belong to the Chinese family. I intend that they shall have religious liberty, for, in common with the other subjects of the Empire, they respect the laws.

Religion is an affair of the conscience, with which no one should interfere.'

In the year 1731 the same Emperor in the interests of agriculture, prohibited the slaughter of cows for food. The Muhammadans represented to him that, as they could not eat pork, they would be put to much inconvenience. He replied to them in an imperial decree, of which the following is an extract: 'In all the provinces of the Empire there have been for many centuries a great number of Muhammadans, who form part of my people, and like the rest are my children. I make no difference between them and those who do not belong to their religion. I have often received from some officials complaints against them, because their religion differs from that of the Chinese, because they speak a different language and wear a different dress. They accuse them of disobedience and urge me to take strict measures against them. After examination, I find these charges groundless. The religion which they practise is that of their ancestors. Their language differs from ours, but then there are diverse dialects in China. The difference in their temples, dress, and manners is of no consequence. They bear good characters and show no signs of revolting. So long as they observe the social and civil laws they shall have religious freedom. The magistrates are not to deal with religious matters. In the interests of agriculture I have prohibited the killing of cows; some Muslims object on the ground that they require beef for food. It is a grave fault to disobey the Emperor. No good religion allows any one to injure others. Let the Muslims exhort themselves, correct this evil, and all will be well. I permit them freedom in the

exercise of their religion ; they, on the other hand, must respect the laws of the country of which they are adopted children.¹

An imperial decree about the same date speaks of the many Muslims who came to the State examinations, and of the good conduct of those who had become officials in the Empire. A judge who had reported evil of them was degraded. The Chinese Musalmáns, thus allowed freedom in the exercise of their religion, have lived in the same way as the other inhabitants of the country. They submit to the same charges, enjoy the same rights, yet, whilst casting in their lot with the other subjects of the Empire, have, as regards their religious position and their personal laws, remained a distinct community.

The Chinese term for Muslim, given about the thirteenth century, is Hoey-Hoey, or Hoey-Tsee,² which means 'return and submission', in accordance with the verse in the Qur'án which says: 'Verily, we are God's, and to Him shall we return.'³ In the annals of the dynasty of the Mongols (A. D. 1260 to 1368) this is the name given to Muslim converts. The Muḥammadans call themselves Mu'minún (believers), and Muslimún

¹ Dabry de Thiersant, *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, vol. i, pp. 154-6.

² For a curious discussion as to the derivation of this word see, M. Gabriel Devéria's essay in *Centenaire de L'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, p. 103. One writer on the ground that in Chinese H. before O. may be equal to Kh, derives the word from يا خوي my brother : the plural form is اخوان shortened to Khuan—a technical term for the brethren in a religious Order. See also Broomhall, *Islām in China*, chapter x.

³ إِنَّا لِلّٰهِ وَاِنَّا اِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 151.

(Muslims). The name given to the religion (dín) of Islám is Hoey-Hoey-Kiao or Tsin-Tching-Kiao, the true and pure religion. This last name dates from A. D. 1335, and its use was formally authorized by the then Emperor. The most ancient mosque is called Tsin-Kiao-Sze, the temple of the pure religion. The ordinary mosques are called Ly-Pay-Sze, temples of the ritual ceremonies. Muḥammadan writings are called Hoey-Hoey-Chou, a name applied to Arabic books and to Persian ones written in Arabic characters. On the frontier the old Turkish language is used in books.

The majority of the Chinese Muslims are Sunnís of the Ḥanífí madḥab, or sect.¹ As regards the main dogmas of the orthodox creed, the erroneous views about the Christian creed, the person of Jesus Christ and the Bible, they are in agreement with their co-religionists elsewhere; but in speculative and philosophical questions they have been influenced by Buddhist and Confucian teaching. Living isolated for twelve centuries, in the midst of idolaters, and under a suspicious Government, the prejudices of which had to be duly considered and deprived of all facilities for reinvigorating their faith at the sanctuaries of their ancient saints, they have cultivated a humbler and more tolerant spirit than is common amongst Muslims in other eastern lands.

They have never been able in China to assert with boldness that Islám is the one, absolute religion, outside of which there is no salvation. They have enjoyed equal civil rights with others, have qualified for and

¹ Strictly speaking the term madḥab is applied to the canonical schools of law, of which the Ḥanífí system is one of the four. See *Faith of Islám* (3rd ed.), pp. 31-6.

held official positions, involving conformity to certain national laws and customs contrary to the spirit of Islám, and necessitating the close study of certain philosophical doctrines alien to the teaching of Muḥammad. The result is that a certain laxness in practice has been permitted, and that the dogmatic system has been influenced by philosophic ideas taken from other religions.

Briefly stated, the cosmogony of the Chinese Muslims is that when all was void and non-existent, one true Lord existed by His own essential nature. As regards His substance, will and actions, He cannot be compared with any other being. From this two uncreated marvels emanated: first, the mandate (the Kalám, or Word, of the Šúfis), which is a communication from the real substance; and second, reason of which again all material forms are but emanations. The nature of man is said to be the nearest approach to that of God.

The primordial material principle was divided into the male and female agencies. The former was active, the latter in repose. These were then transformed into water and fire, and from the combination of these air and earth were born. By an eruption of air and fire the sky and the stars were formed: earth and air met together and land and sea were produced. The sky and the earth having been thus formed, fire and water commenced their natural work of the nourishment of created things. The four elements combined to form minerals and animals. The vegetable kingdom was the product of air and fire, combined with the nutritive properties of earth and water. The creation of man was the result of the union in the primordial material principle of the male and female energies, combined with the will of the True One.

The Chinese Muslims believe in angels and genii, beings spiritual and invisible to man. Their forms are perfect, their beauty unsurpassed, their youth perpetual. They have no carnal appetites or passions, and do not feel the pangs of hunger or of thirst. Their functions are to praise God continually and to transmit His orders rapidly; to watch over men, to record their actions in a book and to intercede with God for them; to regulate the movements of the earth, the moon, the planets, seasons, plants and animals. The four chief ones are Gabriel who reveals the mysteries of God to prophets; Michá'íl, who directs the elements; Azrá'íl, the angel of death; Isráfíl, the guardian of the trumpet and the announcer of the day of judgement. Munkir and Nakír are the angels who examine the corpse in the tomb with regard to its faith when on earth. Genii are divided into two classes: those who believe in Islám and are good, those who do not and who dwell in eternal fire.

The 'Arsh, or throne of God, is in the ninth heaven, the Kursi,¹ or seat, in the eighth, and each has many constellations around it. The seven lower heavens contain each one planet, and each has its own special function. The heaven of the planet Jupiter manifests those things which are hidden; the heaven of the planet Mars sets forth the advent of evils and dangers; the heaven of the Sun is the source of animal and vegetable vitality and of the changing seasons, climate and weather; the heaven of the planet Venus influences the human voice, smell, taste and form; the heaven of the planet Mercury makes

¹ The 'Arsh and the Kursi were the first things which were created, then followed the eight heavens and the seven hells. Dabry de Thiersant, *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, vol. ii, p. 77.

dull things clear, and dark things bright ; the heaven of the Moon affects the tides ; the augmentation and diminution of troubles also depend on it. All created things return to the True One. He entirely fills the earth, embraces fully the heavens, and at last all things return to the great original of all.

God created the world in six days. Adam and Eve were placed in a garden, and were told not to eat of the fruit of a certain tree. The Devil, angry because he had been ordered to prostrate himself before Adam, determined to ruin the two by making them disobedient. As he could not enter Paradise he called upon a peacock for aid. The peacock referred him to a serpent, who consented to assist him. Then follows the ordinary account of the Fall, which came about by the eating of forbidden fruit. Adam was banished to the east, Eve to the west. For three hundred years they lived apart and in darkness. At last, in mercy, God dispelled the darkness and ordered Adam to make two rak'ats, or prostrations made in repeating the prayers, after which he gained some strength. Then the sun shone forth brightly, and four more rak'ats were made, and four prayers were said, and all trouble passed away. At noon, at three in the afternoon, and at night, prayers were said, and hence the origin of the fivefold daily prayers, or namáz. An angel soon conducted Adam to Eve, who was then on Mount 'Arafát, not far from Mecca. Other angels brought a tent from Paradise and placed it on a spot where in after days the Ka'ba was erected. God then taught Adam the true religion of Islám. This instruction Adam passed on to his descendants. Noah, after the flood, did the same. In the earliest days of the Chinese

Empire, Islám was the recognized religion, but a period of ignorance set in and it was entirely forgotten. In Arabia alone was the true tradition preserved even unto the time of Muḥammad, by men specially qualified to do it. They may be divided into four classes. First, those who received a revelation, these are saints; second, those who received and who taught what was in the sacred books; third, those who were allowed to add to or take from the teaching of previous saints and who were the heads of their respective dispensations—such as Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Jesus; fourth, those who could sum up all preceding dispensations and establish a final law. These are the highest of all saints, and there is only one such, Muḥammad, the seal of the prophets. The Chinese Mullás appear to accept as true, the marvelous traditional accounts of the birth and infancy of the Prophet.

The Muḥammadans believe in the salvation of Muslims only; but the Chinese Muḥammadans say that of non-Muslims one man in a thousand and one woman in ten thousand will get salvation. They further teach that as Eve was created from a bone taken from the left side of Adam,¹ and as the left side is inferior to the right one, women are worse than men. They tempt men to neglect religious duties and lead them astray. Women are said to love three things only—those who flatter them, their pleasure, and their own children.

¹ Another form of this tradition used against female education is that the bone, being a rib bone, was bent, and so the disposition of woman is by nature crooked, and any attempt by education to improve it is clearly contrary to the natural order of things.

The Chinese Muslims hold that all physical actions are the result of the immutable decrees of God, that moral acts depend on the will of the individual, who is free to choose. Each man is born with a different nature, but, whatever that nature may be, he does not the less possess the faculty of thinking and acting, according to his own will, subordinate to the power of God. The Chinese Muḥammadans are, then, practically what is known in Muslim theology as Qadrians. Of late years a few men have arisen with wider views, answering somewhat to the modernist school in India and Egypt, but their influence is very slight.¹

The books composed and published by the Chinese Muslims are not sold publicly, owing to the suspicious character of the Government and the prejudices of the literary classes. As their chief religious books are in Arabic, they have not done much to create a national Muslim literature. A great many knew nothing but Chinese and the Muslim literature in that language is not important. It is said that the first Muḥammadan book published in Chinese appeared in 1642, and that it was written in order to show the points in common between Islām and Confucianism. In 1662 a large work was written, expounding the faith as made known by the early Muslim historians and theologians. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, the author Lieon Tsee published works on the biography of the Prophet and on dogmatic theology. These are still the standard works on Islām. This writer has, however, been reproached for making too many concessions to the

¹ See *The Chinese Recorder*, February, 1913, p. 76.

opinions of the learned men amongst the followers of Confucius.¹ Works in Arabic and in Persian with Chinese translations also appear from time to time.

In recent years 'Ulamá, or learned men, sent by the late Sultán of Turkey have come to China, and in 1908 toured through the country preaching Pan-Islámic doctrine. They were esteemed for their learning but not, as they wished to be, as the delegates of the Khalífa, for the Chinese Muslims do not accept the Sultán as the spiritual head of the Muslim world.²

From the above statements it will be seen that Muslims in China possess much religious liberty, though occasionally restricted after rebellions; but they purchase whatever liberty they enjoy by conforming to pagan practices and ceremonial, and by a subserviency to the prejudices of the State officials and of the literary classes, in a manner not usual amongst their co-religionists in other lands. Under the Republic, their position may be changed and their petitions for increased freedom may be acceded to. It is not likely, however, that they will have any very important share in the shaping of events in the near or distant future. As regards their dogmatic beliefs they may be classed as orthodox Muslims, but they are certainly lax and time-serving in their conduct and relation to others of an alien faith. Now and again they have broken out into

¹ 'It is a noteworthy fact, and a testimony to the beneficent influence of Confucian ethics that none of the Chinese Moslem books contain any reference to the characteristic paradise of the Koran', Broomhall, *Islám in China*, p. 232.

² See D'Ollone, *Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois*, p. 374.

rebellion, but, notwithstanding what men like Professor Vasilyeff may say, it seems very doubtful whether a body of men, who for many centuries have conformed to customs repugnant to the true Muslim, can ever become a political force producing a disturbing element in the State, or are at all likely to prove a hostile power in the future developments of the Chinese Republic.

For some reason or other no systematic missionary work has been carried on amongst them, and yet such a large body of Muslims in the far East should not be overlooked by the societies at work in China. It should be taken up as a serious matter and worked as a special department. Mr. Broomhall's excellent book *Islām in China* calls attention to the need, and doubtless will contribute largely to its being met.

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THE OTTOMAN TURKS

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I. THE RISE OF THE EMPIRE

AMONGST the numerous nomad races of Central Asia there were two great tribes—the Mongols and the Turks—who in the thirteenth century overran a great part of the Muslim empire and penetrated beyond it. Húlágú Khán captured Baghdad, the seat of the renowned ‘Abbásid Khalífate, and the Moñgols soon overran the Syrian empire of Saladin, which had come now under the rule of the Mamlúk Sultáns of Egypt. The Mongols on different occasions made several ineffectual attempts to invade Egypt, and were repulsed by the bravery of the Mamlúks;¹ but they entered Europe and advanced as far as Hungary. They were nomads and, as a rule, could not settle down; so after ravaging a country they usually retired from it. For a time, however, they retained possessions in China, and, as the Golden Horde, ruled in the Crimea; but they left no permanent mark on the Muslim empire of the Khalífate; and so we may pass them by.

¹ See *The Mamlúks in Egypt* (C.L.S.), pp. 10, 17, 21, 34.

The other branch of these great nomad barbarians, the Turks, did otherwise. They supplied the Khalífas of Baghdad with mercenary troops who soon became the rulers of their nominal masters. As imported slaves they attained also to royal power in Egypt. They founded a dynasty at Ghazni and captured Khurásán where they created the empire of the Seljúk Turks. Then came the great Mongol invasion under Chengiz Khán driving the Turks further south and west. Their clans under the names of the White and Black Weir (sheep) exercised much influence in the thirteenth century.

The Muslim empire at that time had almost passed away from its old Arab rulers. The Mongols had subdued Persia and advanced to the regions of the Volga and the Ural mountains, whilst Turks ruled in Asia Minor and Turkish Mamlúks held Egypt. Against these two Turkish powers the Mongols could do nothing. The Seljúk Sultáns of Iconium and the Mamlúks of Egypt held their own and remained when all fear of the Mongols had passed away. Amongst the tribes which followed the Seljúks was one which was led by its chief Ertoghul. It so happened that one day Ertoghul was proceeding with a small band of men in the direction of Anatolia, where he unexpectedly came upon a battlefield (Angora) in which the Seljúk Sultán was contending against a strong and determined foe. At once Ertoghul and his four hundred

men joined in the conflict and helped to gain a victory for the Seljúks. On another occasion also they rendered valuable military assistance. The Sultán in return for this welcome aid allowed them to settle on land where good pasturage and suitable winter quarters were found. This was in the neighbourhood of Angora and not far from the boundaries of the Byzantine province of Bithynia.

In 1258, the year in which Baghdad fell, 'Uthmán, the son of Ertoghul, was born. In due course he asserted his absolute independence, and founded the dynasty of the 'Uthmánúlís, or as they are better known, the Ottoman Turks. With them our history begins. Thirty-five Sultáns of the Ottoman Turks have succeeded Ertoghul in the male line without a break.

Ertoghul died in 1288 and 'Uthmán became head of the clan; in the same year Orkhan, son of 'Uthmán, was born. The years of the earlier manhood of 'Uthmán had been peaceable ones, during which he established a reputation for administrative ability and for justness in his rule. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the Seljúk empire which was split up into ten states had begun to fall into decay. Many of its feudatory vassals aspired to independent rule over domains of their own. 'Uthmán remained firm in his allegiance and as a reward, in 1295, the Seljúk Sultán 'Alá'u'd-dín Kaikobad II made him a ruler over a territory he

had that year conquered, and presented him with the horse-tail, drum and banner, which were the insignia of independent rule. His name was now inserted in the Friday prayers. The date 1295 may be considered to mark the beginning of the Ottoman empire. Gradually, however, the Ottomans began to absorb the domains of the Seljúks, but the process was not completed till some years after 'Uthmán's death. When the Seljúk dynasty had become extinct, there was no power left sufficiently strong to curb the ambition of the Ottomans, though the stronger among the ten states which arose out of the Seljúk empire successfully resisted them for a time.

The Ottomans now turned their attention to the easier work of invading the neighbouring Christian lands, and the conflict with the Greek emperor began in earnest. The inroads were frequent and each campaign attracted volunteers to 'Uthmán's service and increased the number of his captives. As the Mongols had so frequently done, he did not after such forays return to a pastoral life, but fortified the places he had captured and so showed his intention of remaining in the newly conquered territory. After years of warfare, the city of Brusa¹ was captured in 1326. 'Uthmán was now in his

¹ Brusa is situated thirteen miles south of the Sea of Marmora. It was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Bithynia. The population now is about 37,000.

last illness, but he lived long enough to know that his standard had been planted in the city he had so long wished to capture, and which now became the capital of his growing kingdom. He was buried within its walls. He was the real founder of the Ottoman empire and each successive Sultán is girded with the sword of 'Uthmán, preserved in Constantinople for that purpose.

'Uthmán was succeeded by his son Orkhan (1326-59). The Christian inhabitants of Brusa were spared their lives on payment of a ransom of thirty thousand crowns of gold. A mosque and a college were built, and Arabic and Persian scholars of repute were invited to the city which now became the capital of the Ottomans.

'Uthmán had two sons 'Alá'u'd-dín and Orkhan. The latter, though the younger son, became the ruler on account of his martial vigour. Having established himself at Brusa, he paid little attention to the smaller states which had arisen in Asia out of the late Seljúk kingdom, preferring to attract the members of them by the superior organization of his own territories and by victorious campaigns against the Greeks, which in due time he undertook. At first, he directed his time and energies to the capturing of the Greek strongholds in Asia. In a few years Nicomedia, Meacea and Pergamos were added to his dominions, and after the defeat of the emperor Andronicus the Ottoman kingdom extended to

the shores of the Hellespont, and the Byzantines retained in 1338 only two towns—Ala Shair and Rega. Orkhan behaved well to the people of the conquered cities. When Meacea was taken, the people were allowed to retire with all their goods; an act of clemency which won the admiration of the Greeks for their conqueror.

Having thus gained control of the whole of the north-west corner of Asia Minor and the command of one shore of the Bosphorus, Orkhan was content to rest for a while. He now saw clearly that the conquest of the Byzantine empire would be arduous and prolonged, and that the best way to ensure final success was to consolidate his dominions, improve his administration, and organize an efficient army. In these endeavours twenty years of peace passed by. 'Alá'u'd-dín was appointed Vizier, and it is to his efforts that the success of the administration and the formation of an army were largely due.

The old plan had been for the chiefs of the clans to summon their men to war, and when the campaign was over the soldiers returned home and pursued their avocations. This plan was now changed entirely. Instead of this somewhat uncertain and untrained force a standing army was formed in which besides the Ottomans, many Seljúks and members of other nomad tribes were enrolled. A paid corps of infantry, called the Piyade was formed. Their wages were small, but they were given lands on the

condition that they were always ready for active service. They were rude soldiers and not always amenable to discipline ; so a regiment one thousand strong was formed from the boys of the Christian families conquered in the wars and made captives. Every year for centuries after a thousand Christian youths were thus taken and trained as soldiers. A special officer, the Tournaji Basha, made periodical visits to all the provinces for this purpose ; later on youths from Albania, Bosaia and Bulgaria were preferred. When the captives were not sufficient the Christian subjects had to give up their sons until the required number was made up. After 1648 this levy ceased as the children of the men enrolled were sufficient for the purpose. The lads were brought up as Muslims, were carefully trained under the strictest discipline and well rewarded when their courage and conduct deserved it. ‘Cut off from all ties of country, kith and kin, but with high pay and privileges, with opportunities for military advancement and for the gratification of the violent and the sensual passions of their animal natures, this military brotherhood grew up to be the strongest and fiercest instrument of imperial ambition, which remorseless fanaticism, prompted by the most subtle statecraft, ever devised upon earth.’¹

¹ Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks* (ed. London, 1854), vol. i, p. 23.

Thus the famous corps of the Janissaries was formed in the year 1328. The Sultán sought religious sanction for his action. The services of a venerable Shaikh of the Baktáshiyya Order of Derwishes were called in, and Hájjí Baktásh blessed the boys by putting the sleeve of his robe on the head of one of them in such a way that it hung down his back, and then addressing the Sultán said: 'The militia which you have just created shall be called Yeni Cheri (new troops); its figures shall be fair and shining, its arm redoubtable, its sword sharp. It shall be victorious in all battles and ever return triumphant.'¹ To commemorate the blessing bestowed by the sleeve of Hájjí Baktásh, the Janissaries wore a white felt cap, with a piece of the same material pendant on their backs.

In addition to the Piyade and the Janissaries an irregular force of infantry was formed, whose sad and peculiar duty it was to bear the first brunt of an attack; and when they were cut down or severely treated, the Janissaries rushed on over their dead bodies to attack the now possibly disorganized enemy. A select body of horse soldiers called Sipáhís (Sepoys), who held lands on a feudal tenure, completed the army.

Having now formed this useful army, Orkhan was able to think of further conquests. On the opposite

¹ Sell, *The Religious Orders of Islám*, p. 5.

shore of the Bosphorus was the beautiful city of Constantinople. Naturally his thoughts turned that way. The Byzantine empire had now lost much of its grandeur and much of its power. As a result of civil wars many provinces had been lost, and in Constantinople sedition was rife and rival factions deprived the emperors of any real power. 'The property of the Greeks was plundered, their landed estates were confiscated, and even their families were often sold into slavery. The landed property and the military power, with the social influence they conferred, passed into the hands of the Serbs, the Albanians, the Genoese, and the Ottoman Turks.'¹

The emperor Cantacuzemus gave his daughter Theodora in marriage to the Sultán. In order to secure the aid of the Turks they were permitted to ravage a province,² capture as many Christians as they could and sell them as slaves. This they were permitted to do in Constantinople itself, and the

¹ Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. iii, p. 441, quoted by S. Lane-Poole, *Turkey*, p. 32.

² Turks in small bodies had many years previously entered into Europe. In the ninth century some, driven from their homes, obtained from the emperor Theophilus an asylum in Macedonia. They retained their military habits and some formed part of the imperial guard. In the eleventh century another party settled between the Dneiper and the Danube, followed in the twelfth century by another band. They were gradually absorbed into the general population, or kept in check and so gave no serious trouble. See Victor Bérard, *La Turquie* (Paris, 1911), pp. 148-9.

distressed Greeks saw their fellow-Christians of both sexes and of all classes exposed in a public market, and sold to the highest bidder to be henceforth subject to temporal and spiritual bondage. This infamous treaty was the first act in the drama of the downfall of the Byzantine empire. Gibbon thus graphically describes the marriage :—

A stately pavilion was erected, in which the empress Irene passed the night with her daughters. In the morning Theodora ascended a throne which was surrounded with curtains of silk and gold; the troops were under arms; but the emperor alone was on horseback. At a signal the curtains were suddenly withdrawn, to disclose the bride, or the victim, encircled by kneeling eunuchs and hymeneal torches; the sound of flutes and trumpets proclaimed the joyful event; and her pretended happiness was the theme of the nuptial song, which was chanted by such poets as the age could produce. Without the rites of the Church, Theodora was delivered to her barbarous lord; but it had been stipulated that she should preserve her religion in the harem of Brusa; and her father celebrates her charity and devotion in this ambiguous situation.¹

Orkhan defeated the enemies of Cantacuzemus, and penetrated the country as far as the Balkans, thus learning how defenceless it was and what an easy prey it would prove to his young and vigorous army. In 1355 Orkhan sent his son Suleymán Pasha with a small force to cross the Hellespont. Other troops followed and the European shore was secured by the Ottomans. The fortress of Gallipole

¹ Gibbon, *Roman Empire* (ed. London, 1855), vol. vii, p. 145.

was taken and other towns were captured. The Ottomans had now come to stay. In 1358 Suleymán was killed by a fall from his horse, the news of which so affected his father Orkhan that he died two months after. He lived long enough to prove the value of his military organization and to test the valour of his new troops. The great merit of all Orkhan's administrative arrangements was that they admitted of development and extension as the empire grew. Long after, when Muḥammad II improved the civil administration he based his reforms on Orkhan's institutions and made them the model of his legislation.

Murád I (1359-89), called Amurath by European writers, succeeded his father. He was a bold and active warrior and soon seized an opportunity of invading Europe. By that time the dominions of the Greek empire had become very much restricted, and many provinces, afterwards included in the Ottoman empire, were under independent princes. This probably postponed the fall of Constantinople for a time, as they had to be first subdued.

Cantacuzemus was now dead and John Palaeologus was emperor. He was utterly incapable of opposing Murád. In 1361 Adrianople was taken and in 1467 it was made the Turkish capital instead of Brusa. Three years later Philippolis fell to the Ottomans. The leaders of the various independent states were now alarmed. These people were far more vigorous

than the Greeks; and Murád found in the Serbs, Bosnians, Bulgarians, Albanians and Hungarians valiant and determined foes. In 1364 a contest began, which in modern days has been renewed with entirely different results, for it is the Ottomans who have now lost their pristine vigour. Then an allied army 60,000 strong was beaten by a much smaller Ottoman force under Lála Sháhín, Murád's commander-in-chief.

In 1373 the Turks conquered Macedonia crossed the Balkans and captured Nissa. The king of Serbia had to supply a contingent of troops and to pay a tribute in order to save his kingdom. The ruler of Bulgaria obtained peace by giving his daughter, which apparently he was more ready to do than to part with money. Lála Sháhín was made a feudal lord over these provinces.

About this time Murád returned to his Asiatic dominions to celebrate the marriage of his son Báyzíd, surnamed Yildirim, or Thunderbolt, from the energy he displayed in battle and the quickness of his movements in action. This wedding brought a large accession of territory in the form of a dowry. The absence of Murád in Asia was an opportunity not to be lost, and the Christian princes, vexed at the yearly drain of their boys for the regiment of the Janissaries, and feeling the irksomeness of the tribute required, formed an alliance against the Ottomans; and in Bosnia nearly annihilated one

of their armies. Murád and Báyzíd quickly returned and won the great battle of Kosovo in 1382. The Serbs, the Hungarians and others numbered 100,000 men and the conflict was long and fierce. At a council of war it was proposed that the camels of the baggage train should be placed in front to form a living rampart and to confuse the horses of the knights by the smell which proceeded from them. Báyzíd opposed this plan, saying: 'The honour of our flag requires that we should meet the enemy face to face.' His advice was accepted and the camels were sent to the rear. Báyzíd displayed great valour and by his brilliant fighting and rapid movements maintained the reputation of his name Yildirim, or Thunderbolt. The slaughter was great. It was, however, a sad day for the Ottomans, for Milosh Kobilovich, a Serb soldier, gained admittance into the tent of Murád and stabbed him to death with a dagger. Murád lived long enough to give orders for the final charge of his troops and for the execution of Lazarus, the king of Serbia, now a prisoner. The assassin was slain at once, but his work was done and ever since he has been regarded by the Serbs as a hero. His treachery has been overlooked because of the value of its result. It is said that in order to prevent the repetition of such an unfortunate occurrence 'a rule has ever since been prescribed in Ottoman etiquette that no stranger shall be presented to the Sultán unless led by two

courtiers who hold him by the arms, and thus prevent any treacherous act. This precaution is no longer insisted on; but even in the present (i.e. nineteenth) century ambassadors were not permitted to approach the Sultán too closely.¹

The result of the defeat at Kosovo was that Serbia became a province tributary to the Sultán, although it was allowed to have its own rulers who assumed the title of Despot. This state of things continued for about seventy years, when in 1459 Sultán Muḥammad II occupied Serbia and made it a Turkish pashalik. This ignominious position it held for three hundred and forty-five years. In 1804 the struggle for independence began and after long years of conflict it was at length successful.

Constantinople was still spared, but the emperor, John Palaeologus, and his sons had to follow the camp and court of Murád. This humiliation of his rivals satisfied Murád for the present. A show of friendship was maintained and the emperor gave one daughter to Murád and two others to his sons Báya-zíd and Ya'qúb Chelebi. Thus these and other princesses played their sorrowful part in the diplomatic game.

Murád's son, Sanji Bey, now governor of Brusa, concerted a plot with Andronicus, son of Palaeologus, to dethrone their respective fathers. It was a

¹ S. Lane-Poole, *Turkey*, p. 45.

foolish thing to do and was soon discovered. Sanji was executed; and the emperor gave orders that his son should be made blind.

• Murád was renowned for his courage, for the extension of his empire, and for the love and the fear which his subjects bore towards him.

In the presence of the victorious troops at Kosovo Báyzíd I (1389–1402) was proclaimed Sultán. His first act was to give the order for the execution of his brother Ya'qúb Chelebi, who had fought bravely in the recent battle. He remembered how his brother, Sanji Bey, had plotted against Murád and he was determined that there should be no family plot against himself. It set a mournful precedent, for henceforward it became the rule for Sultáns on their accession to murder their brothers. There is a text in the Qur'án which says, 'Civil strife is worse than bloodshed' [Súratu'l-Baqara' (ii) '214].¹ The action of Báyzíd was probably a straining of this text, but assuming that 'civil strife' was likely to follow, it gave some show of authority for his cruel deed. For many generations this sanction was thus taken and the result of putting out of the way any possible male claimant to the throne has been that revolutions arising from family disputes

¹ الفتنه أكبر من القتل

فتنه (fitna) may also be translated as sedition: Zamakhshari explains it as 'idolatry'.

have not been common. In later times these unfortunate brothers were confined to the harems and grew up ignorant, if not imbecile. The best modern historian of Turkish affairs has said :—

The progress of civilization has rendered impossible the systematic murder, but not the incarceration of brothers ; and the consequence is that the crown may devolve upon an elderly man, who has been kept a close prisoner all his life and who has no more experience of the world than a monk. If, when the throne is vacant, any prince can, with the aid of the army, seize upon the supreme power, and put his competitors out of the way, his title has generally been accepted ; but there is no trace in Ottoman history of any attempt to dispute the claims of the House of Osman or to establish a rival dynasty. This is clearly a great element of strength compared with the Christian kingdoms with which the Ottoman empire contended during many centuries, and it doubtless did much to counterbalance the many weaknesses which have always been inherent in the Turkish rule.¹

Báyazíd continued his wars and King Stephen of Serbia was compelled to sue for peace. In the treaty which followed he accepted the position of a vassal, undertook to furnish a contingent of soldiers to render in person military service to the Sulţán, a task he honourably fulfilled, and to give his sister to the Sulţán for a wife. This lady was a woman of strong character and influence. It is said of her that ‘ of all his wives he (Báyazíd) held her dearest, and for her sake restored to her brother the

¹ Odysseus, *Turkey in Europe*, p. 119.

city and castle of Semendria, and Columbarum in Serbia; she allured him to drink wine forbidden by their law and caused him to delight in sumptuous banquets, which his predecessors never did."¹

Uskub was taken and Turks settled there as colonists and a feudal system was organized, out of which grew the landed proprietors, afterwards known by the names of Derebeys and Pashas.² Wallachia was conquered in the year 1392 and its ruler became a tributary. When all this had been accomplished, the Sultán was called to his Asiatic dominions where trouble had arisen. With his usual rapidity he passed from place to place and soon secured possession of all that had belonged to the Seljúk kingdom. To these conquests must be added the possession absolutely, or as tributary states, of many countries in Europe.

He now determined to show to the orthodox Sunní Muslims his respect for the House of 'Abbás and to have a formal religious sanction for the high position to which he had attained. There were now 'Abbásid Khalífas at Cairo,³ men devoid of real power, kept to give a sort of prestige to the rulers there. From one of these, at the Court of the Mamlúk Sultán Burqúq, he was invested with the title

¹ Knolles, quoted by S. Lane-Poole, *Turkey*, p. 49.

² See Victor Bérard, *La Turquie*, p. 152.

³ See Sell, *The Mamlúks in Egypt* (C.L.S.), p. 7.

of Sultán.¹ He further showed his religious zeal, by creating a number of religious foundations in the conquered provinces. The Derwish Orders also received much landed property for the support of their zawiyahs (monasteries).²

Manuel, the son of the emperor Palaeologus, was serving in the Ottoman army, and on hearing of his father's death, he went away secretly to Constantinople and was proclaimed emperor. This sudden departure was an act of military insubordination which Báyzíd could not overlook, so he returned to Europe, captured Salonica and Larrisa and laid siege to Constantinople; but the formation of a powerful alliance amongst his enemies led to the raising of the siege, and Constantinople was safe for the time.

Sigismund, the king of Hungary, appealed for aid to the Pope, who in 1394 proclaimed a crusade against the Turks. The bravest knights of France and Germany under renowned and princely leaders responded to the call. The Grand Master of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem came with many followers. An army sixty thousand strong marched through Serbia. King Stephen, faithful to his treaty with the Ottomans (*ante* p. 12), did not join the

¹ As a matter of fact many years before Orkhan had assumed his title; but Báyzíd from political motives sought for and obtained this formal religious recognition.

² See Victor Bérard, *La Turquie*, p. 158.

Christian army, which in consequence plundered his lands. The Christians then laid siege to Nicopolis, a strong frontier fortress. With an overweening sense of pride, they underestimated the energy of their enemy, and even laughed when news was brought that Báyzíd would soon be upon them. It was so. Then the French knights, against the advice of Sigismund who knew the Ottoman tactics, rushed upon the foe. They easily dispersed the irregular troops whom it was the custom to place in the van. The fury of their onslaught was so great that they succeeded in piercing a second line and thought all was won; but now they found arranged in good order and waiting for them the main body of the Turkish army forty thousand strong. They turned to flee, but it was too late and many lost their lives. The charge was a tactical blunder and its defeat spread dismay amongst the infantry, many of whom fled from the field of battle. The Hungarians and Bavarians made a stand for a time, but Stephen of Serbia brought up his forces and attacked the Christians. Victory fell to the Ottomans.

The battle of Nicopolis (1396) strengthened the power of Báyzíd, but the victory was sullied by the cruelty of the conqueror, who on going over the field of battle said: 'This has been a cruel battle for our people; the Christian have defended themselves desperately; but I will have this slaughter avenged

on those who are prisoners.’¹ The next day the whole Turkish army was drawn up in the form of a crescent, and the captives were brought into his presence. He allowed the Count de Nevers to select twenty-four knights to be kept as prisoners until their ransom arrived. Then in their presence and in that of the Sultán ten thousand prisoners, knights, squires and soldiers, were brought in and the order for their immediate execution was given. The cruel butchery proceeded until his own officers begged the Sultán to let it cease and so a small remnant was left to pass into captivity. The Count de Nevers and his companions were taken about with the army and exposed as trophies, and then confined at Brusa until their ransom arrived.

The pride of Báyzíd now increased and he resumed the siege of Constantinople. It lasted for six years. He had already secured the right to erect a mosque, and a college, and to appoint a Qádí in the city ; now he demanded the entire possession of it. The situation was one of great peril. It was averted not by any courage in its besieged, or loss of vigour in the besiegers, but to a totally unexpected cause—the appearance of Tímúr (Tamerlane) the Tartar in the Asiatic dominions of Báyzíd. He had built up a great empire, was the most renowned monarch of his day, and now it was to come to an end.

¹ Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks*, vol. i, p. 62.

Tímúr was born in Samarcund in 1333. From the position of a petty chief he became ruler of the province of Transoxiana. Having under his control vast hordes of men drawn from Central Asia, for thirty years or more he ravaged vast areas of country from Delhi¹ to Damascus. The small kingdoms into which the Muḥammadans were now divided, could not resist, either singly or jointly, the fierce rush of his huge armies. Persia and Syria fell before him; but no less than four attempts against Egypt were successfully met by the bravery of the Mamlúks.

¹ It does not fall within the purpose of this work to describe Tímúr's invasion of India, but a brief note on it will not be out of place. Civil wars and dissensions had weakened the kingdom of Delhi when Tímúr with a large army invaded it. On December 17, 1398, the decisive battle was fought and soon after Delhi was sacked. During the invasion many prisoners were slain, the country was ravaged, the people were massacred, and the victorious troops were laden with spoils. Then Tímúr and his men returned through the hills of Afghánistán and the scourge was over. Years after there was confusion and disorder in the country and the king of Kábul, a descendant of Tímúr, was invited to come and settle the disputes by force of arms. Babar came and conquered (1526); and laid the foundation of the empire which his grandson Akbar made so famous.

More than two centuries passed by and then after the battle of Buxar (Baksar) in 1764 the emperor Sháh Alam signed a treaty by which he and his successors became pensioners of the East India Company. Thus ended the independent political existence of the House of Tímúr.

Again years passed by and after the great mutiny the last Indian sovereign of Tímúr's race, as a deposed monarch, ended his days in exile in Rangoon.

For a time he left Báýazíd alone, but trouble came about in this way. Princes deposed by Tímúr sought refuge with Báýazíd, and some whom Báýazíd had subdued went to Tímúr. Negotiations were entered into but Báýazíd's haughty tone gave such offence that Tímúr made war on him. The final issue was decided in the battle of Angora (1402).¹

Báýazíd appears to have underrated the power of his enemy and learnt his mistake when it was too late. Tímúr was a skilful general who understood the tactical movements of large masses of troops. On this occasion his arrangements were sound, his combinations worked smoothly, his quick eye saw the varrying episodes of a great fight, and his presence was always where it was most needed. Báýazíd was also a capable general, but at a critical moment many of his troops failed him. Amongst them were many inhabitants of the small states which, after the fall of the Seljúks, the Turks had absorbed. These men allured by the promises of the agents of Tímúr broke their allegiance, and saw in the fall of Báýazíd the hope of recovered liberty and the reconstruction of their ancestral countries. Báýazíd with his forty thousand Janissaries, supported by the Serbian troops under king Stephen, made a bold

¹ Angora was situated about one hundred and fifty miles east of Brusa.

stand; but, when even his son Suleymán fled and many others had followed, further resistance was hopeless.¹ On the field of Angora the Turks, who then aided the Seljúk chief, first won their renown as warriors (*ante* p. 2) and now, after about a hundred and fifty years had passed, their empire, built up with bravery and ability, was completely ruined, apparently beyond recovery.

Báyazíd was taken prisoner and in a barred litter² was carried in the conqueror's train. But, according to Gibbon, Tímúr seems to have dealt kindly with Báyazíd and his son Músá who was also a captive. Báyazíd died in March, 1403, eight months after the battle of Angora, and Tímúr two years after it. During this time, however, Tímúr occupied Brusa and other cities and captured Smyrna from the Knights of St. John, who were then in possession of that city.

¹ For a quaint description of the battle, see Knolles, i. 152, quoted by S. Lane-Poole, *Turkey*, pp. 69-72.

² This apparently gave rise to the story related by some Muslim historians to the effect that Báyazíd was carried about in an iron cage. Evliya Efendi says; "'I thank God," said Tímúr, "for having delivered thee into my hand, but if I had fallen into thine what wouldest thou have done." Before his father could reply, Yildirim said: "By heaven! I would have shut thee up in an iron cage, until the day of thy death." Timur replied: "What thou lovest in thy heart, I love in mine." Then, according to Evliya, Báyazíd was placed in a cage [*Travels of Evliya* (London, 1846), p. 29]. The story is not accepted by later historians as correct.

The Turkish rule in Asia Minor was at an end and the petty princes, dispossessed by them, came into their own again. Seldom has the result of a single battle led to so great a downfall. It would seem as if the history of the Ottoman Turks might have ended here; but it has been well said :—

The most astonishing characteristic of the rule of the Turks is its vitality. Again and again its doom has been pronounced by wise prophets, and still it survives. Province after province has been cut off the empire, yet still the Sultán sits supreme over wide dominions, and is revered or feared by subjects of many races. Considering how little of the great qualities of the ruler the Turk has often possessed, how little trouble he has taken to conciliate the subjects whom his sword has subdued, it is amazing how firm has been his authority, how unshaken his power.¹

It was so now, for within a very few years Muḥammad I, a strong and daring ruler, recovered the lost ground and made the empire stronger than ever. Tímúr checked the Ottomans for a time, but he could not destroy those elements in their character which made for success. Orkhan and his brother (*ante* p. 7) had framed an administrative and military system with much wisdom; the princes of the royal house were well educated, with the result that the men placed in positions of authority were capable and much superior to

¹ S. Lane-Poole, *Turkey*, p. 74.

the officials of the decrepit Greek empire. Stanley Lane-Poole thus describes the situation :—

It was by their mental as well as physical power that a vast variety of races, both Muḥammadan and Christian, were held together by as firm a grasp as that by which imperial Rome held her provinces; and the standard of the Sultán was carried victoriously into the heart of Europe and Asia and far along the shores of Africa. Never was so durable a power reared up so rapidly from such scanty means as were possessed by Orkhan and his Vezir, when they conceived the bold idea of exterminating Christianity by educating Christian children.¹

Under these circumstances the empire speedily recovered from its fall. After Báyzíd's death, his sons disputed among themselves about the succession. Suleymán, who had fled from the field of Angora, claimed authority in Europe. He was a cruel, dissolute man and was detested by the army; consequently he was soon killed (1410). Músá, another brother, fought the Serbs and then laid siege to Constantinople. The emperor appealed for aid to Muḥammad, another son of Báyzíd. He, assisted by the Serbs, attacked and routed the besieging army and Músá was slain. 'Isá, a third brother, established himself at Brusa, but soon came to an untimely end. When these princes had passed away Muḥammad became sole ruler (1413), and though he only reigned for eight years, in that short time he

¹ *Turkey*, p. 767.

did much to restore the ruined empire to its former greatness.

He was one of the wisest of all the Ottoman Sultáns. He found an empire almost ruined by the defeat sustained by Báyzíd, and still further imperilled by the civil discord which arose amongst his sons. Muḥammad, a true statesman, saw that consolidation and not extension was the first result to be secured. In Europe he made friends with the Greek emperor and entered into treaties with other Christian princes. In Asia his difficulties were greater, but he partially overcame them and brought the petty states, which had arisen after the inroad of Tímúr, into subjection. Two acts of cruelty are attributed to him—the blinding of his brother Kásim and the murder of the son of Suleymán, both possible pretenders to the throne. He had experienced the evil of family quarrels and this explains his action, though it does not justify it. Apart from this, he was a mild ruler and sought to bind the various classes of his subjects together in amity and peace. He was a man of cultivated tastes and courteous manners. He earned the name of Muḥammad the gentleman (Chelebi). It was well for the Ottoman empire that such a man had supreme rule in it at such a critical time. He died in 1421 and was buried at Brusa, which, however, was no longer the capital, for Adrianople had taken its place.

Murád II (1421-51) succeeded his father. He found the empire so far recovered from its fall that he was soon able to recommence a career of conquest. It was necessary to assert more strongly than Muḥammad had done the authority of the government in Asia, and so orders were passed for the despatch of an expedition to accomplish this. The death of Muḥammad had been kept secret from the troops, and they refused to go without first seeing him. So the dead monarch's body was propped up in a darkened room, and a servant from behind raised its hands and moved its head as the troops passed by, satisfied with having paid their homage to their master.

Murád declined to pay the subsidy given by Muḥammad to the emperor Manuel, who had released from custody Muṣṭafá a pretender to the Ottoman throne. Muṣṭafá was said to be a son of Báyzíd. This led to a war of rebellion which lasted for a year. Muṣṭafá was taken prisoner and hanged at Adrianople in 1422. Murád was now angry with Manuel for having released Muṣṭafá and laid siege to Constantinople. Báyzíd had done the same, but was obliged to raise the siege and hurry to the defence of his Asiatic dominions. The same thing happened again. Murád had to go rapidly to Asia to quell an insurrection. On his return he left the city alone on the payment of a heavy tribute and the surrender of many towns on the Black Sea coast. In 1428,

Salonica, garrisoned by fifteen hundred Venetians, was captured ; its churches were turned into mosques and most of its people were slain or sold as slaves.

But a formidable combination of Christian states was now made, and Murád was soon called upon to show his martial vigour. In 1427 Stephen Lazarevich, the king of Serbia died. He had faithfully kept his compact with the Ottomans and, as we have seen, rendered valuable aid on important occasions. His successor, George Brankovich, was a much better patriot and determined to break away from the Ottoman alliance.¹ He was joined by the rulers of Bosnia, Hungary, Poland, Wallachia and Albania, a formidable confederacy.

The chief hero of the war that ensued was John Hunyady, known as the White Knight of Wallachia. According to Gibbon² he was a man of humble origin, his father being a Wallachian, his mother a Greek ; but a more romantic story is told by a modern historian. ' When king Sigismund of Hungary was fleeing from one of his unsuccessful engagements with the Ottoman armies, he met and

¹ King Stephen left no heirs and appointed George Brankovich as his successor ; but Sultán Murád claimed the throne, on the ground that his grandmother, Mileva, a daughter of king Stephen and the wife of Báyzíd I was a Serbian princess. The Serbs, declining to acknowledge the legitimacy of a claim based on such a relationship, rejected the demand of Murád, whereupon he invaded their country, and the result was war.

² Gibbon, *Roman Empire*, vol. vii, p. 277.

wood the beautiful Elizabeth Morsiney at the village of Hunyadé, and John Hunyady was believed to be the fruit of this consolatory affection.¹ Whatever his origin was, Hunyady became the most valiant warrior of his time, so dreaded by the Turks that they used his name to frighten their children. He made successful attacks on the Ottomans and crossed the Balkans, in the depth of winter, a type of military march but rarely attempted.² The advance was opposed and a severe struggle thus described took place :—

The Turks had skilfully barricaded the passes, and poured water down the approaches, which froze into an icy wall during the night. The passage seemed impracticable. Yet nothing daunted, and braving the weapons of the Turks with the same inflexibility as the rigours of the cold, the Hungarians forced the pass of Isladî, and kept Christmas on the southern slope of the famous range.³

The Ottomans were defeated a second time and Murád sued for peace. A ten years' truce was agreed upon and the Sultán wearied with the cares of office, abdicated in favour of his son Muḥammad II.

The appeals of the Greek emperor for aid found little response, but Burgundy sent a small force which, uniting with the fleets of Venice and Burgundy, became masters of the Hellespont. They

¹ S. Lane-Poole, *Turkey*, p. 87.

² It was done by the Russian General, Gurko, in January, 1878, whose army ascended the slopes by cutting steps in the ice, and descended by sliding down.

³ S. Lane-Poole, *Turkey*, p. 89.

were not aware of the conclusion of the recent treaty of peace, called the treaty of Szegedin (July 12, 1444), by which Serbia regained independence, and Wallachia was annexed to Hungary. The Pope's legate, Cardinal Julian, used this fact to induce Ladislaus, king of Hungary, to break his oath. He said :—

Is it thus, that you will desert their expectations and your own fortune? It is to them, to your God, and your fellow-Christians, that you have pledged your faith; and that prior obligation annihilates a rash and sacrilegious oath to the enemies of Christ. His vicar on earth is the Roman pontiff, without whose sanction you can neither promise nor perform. In his name I absolve your perjury and sanctify your arms; follow my footsteps in the paths of glory and salvation; and if still ye have scruples, devolve on my head the punishment and the sin.¹

The scruples of Hunyady were overcome by the offer to make him king of Bulgaria. Though supported by high ecclesiastical authority and approved by popular consent, it was a most disgraceful proceeding and justified reprisals of the severest kind. An army 20,000 strong soon invaded the Ottoman dominions and many places were taken including Varna. Murád in response to earnest appeals from his people returned to public life and with an army of 40,000 veterans took the field. The legate and Hunyady suggested a retreat, but

¹ Gibbon, *Roman Empire*, pp. 272-3.

Ladislaus I, the Hungarian king, determined to try the fortune of war. A desperate conflict ensued, resulting in the defeat of the Christians at Varna on November 10, 1444, and the death of Ladislaus and of the Legate, Cardinal Julian, who had brought about the disgraceful breach of the treaty of Szegedin made only a few months before. Hunyady escaped. Owing to this great victory, the Ottomans had for some centuries little to fear from the attacks of the European nations.

In order to understand the action of many of the Christian princes we must bear in mind the domineering spirit of the Latin Church which aimed at the subjugation of the Eastern one. The Christians of Bosnia and Serbia would have been brought under the rule of the Latins, had Hunyady won a victory at Varna; but to prevent any such possibility, the rulers of these two states agreed to terms of friendship with the Turks. Murád retired into private life after this; but the Janissaries revolted and his presence was again sought for. Once more he assumed the imperial authority and the Janissaries obeyed the well-known voice of their lord. This time he remained in office until his death in 1451, and so passed away one of the noblest of the Turkish Sultáns.

He was succeeded by his son Muḥammad II (1451-81) who, on account of his successful siege of Constantinople, has been named the Conqueror.

Unlike Murád, who was of a noble disposition, whose word could be trusted, whose honour was unsullied, Muḥammad was faithless and cruel. Like many of the Mamlúk Sultáns of Egypt he combined great ferocity with a love of learning; he founded colleges and was liberal towards what a Muslim would call good works. Poets who sang his praises were given pensions and annual presents were sent to the famous Persian poet Jámí. He was a great warrior though he did little to extend his dominions, beyond the capture of Constantinople, with the exception of Greece which he annexed in 1460,¹ nor did he conquer the great captains, Hunyady and Skanderbeg, of whom more will be said hereafter. He failed to capture Rhodes, which was gallantly defended by the Knights of St. John. His great feat, however, was the capture of Constantinople in 1453. Báyzíd had built one fort on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus; Muḥammad erected one on the other side, called Rumelia Hisár, about five miles above Constantinople, and thus prepared for the important siege. Six thousand men were employed in the work and in forty days

¹ Greece was divided into six military divisions, in each of which Turkish settlers were located who held their lands on a military tenure. The number of mounted men they supplied to the army was seven thousand. Heavy imposts were laid upon the inhabitants, including the *jizya*, or poll-tax. The tribute of Christian children to recruit the ranks of the Janissaries was peculiarly irksome. This continued until 1676 when the tribute ceased.

the fort was rendered impregnable. The situation was now extremely grave. The rulers of the various Christian Powers held aloof, and the rich inhabitants of Constantinople hid their treasures instead of placing them at the emperor's disposal, a foolish deed thus happily described by Dr. Johnson in his tragedy of *Irene* :—

The groaning Greeks dig up the golden crowns,
The accumulated wealth of hoarding ages ;
That wealth which, granted to their weeping prince,
Had ranged enbattled nations at their gates.

No modern historian has surpassed the brilliant description given by Gibbon of the famous siege. The following is his account¹ of the struggle :—

Of the triangle which composes the figure of Constantinople, the two sides along the sea were made inaccessible to an enemy ; the Propontis by nature, and the harbour by art. Between the two waters the basis of the triangle, the land side, was protected by a double wall and a deep ditch of the depth of one hundred feet. Along this line of fortifications, for a distance of six miles, the Ottomans directed their principal attack. In the first days of the siege, the Greek soldiers descended into the ditch or sallied into the field ; but they soon discovered that, in the proportion of their numbers, one Christian was of more value than twenty Turks ; and after these bold preludes, they were prudently content to maintain their rampart with their missile weapons. Nor

¹ *Roman Empire*, vol. vii, ch. lxviii. In making this long quotation I follow a precedent set by S. Lane-Poole the author of *Turkey*, in which Gibbon's description is given at length (ch. vii, pp. 111-135).

should this prudence be accused of pusillanimity. The nation was indeed pusillanimous and base ; but the last Constantine deserves the name of a hero ; his noble band of volunteers was inspired with Roman virtue ; and the foreign auxiliaries supported the honour of the western chivalry.

Then the Turks, pushing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, attempted to fill the enormous chasm, and to build a road to the assault. Innumerable fascines, and hogsheads, and trunks of trees, were heaped on each other ; and such was the impetuosity of the throng, that the foremost and the weakest were pushed headlong down the precipice and instantly buried under the accumulated mass. To fill the ditch was the toil of the besiegers ; to clear away the rubbish was the safety of the besieged ; and, after a long and bloody conflict the web that had been woven in the day was still unravelled in the night.

A wooden turret of the largest size was advanced on rollers ; this portable magazine of ammunition and fascines was protected by a threefold covering of bulls' hides ; incessant volleys were securely discharged from the loop-holes ; in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate sally and retreat of the soldiers and workmen. They ascended by a staircase to the upper platform, and as high as the level of that platform a scaling-ladder could be raised by pulleys to form a bridge, and grapple with the adverse rampart.

At the dawn of day, the impatient Sultán perceived with astonishment and grief that his wooden turret had been reduced to ashes ; the ditch was cleared and restored ; and the tower of St. Romanus was again strong and entire. He deplored the failure of his design.

At last five vessels, four of which were from Genoa appeared bearing provisions of grain, wine,

oil and vegetables. The Turkish fleet at the entrance of the Bosphorus opposed their entrance, and Muḥammad seated on horseback cheered his mariners by his voice. Gibbon thus records the naval battle :—

The five Christian ships continued to advance with joyful shouts, and a full press both of sails and oars, against a hostile fleet of three hundred vessels ; and the rampart, the camp, the coasts of Europe and Asia, were lined with innumerable spectators, who anxiously awaited the event of this momentous succour. In the Christian squadron, five stout and lofty ships were guided by skilful pilots, and manned with the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practised in the arts and perils of the sea. Their weight was directed to sink or scatter the weak obstacles that impeded their passage ; their artillery swept the waters ; their liquid fire was poured on the heads of the adversaries, who, with the design of boarding, presumed to approach them ; and the winds and waves are always on the side of the ablest navigator. They won the naval victory and anchored securely in the inner harbour of the city. At last on May 29 came the final attack.

At day break, without the customary signal of the morning gun, the Turks assaulted the city by sea and land ; and the similitude of a twined or twisted thread has been applied to the closeness and continuity of their line of attack. The foremost ranks consisted of the refuse of the host, a voluntary crowd, who fought without order or command ; of the feebleness of age or childhood, of peasants and vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulse drove them onwards to the wall ; the most audacious to climb were instantly precipitated ; and not a dart, not a bullet, of the Christians was idly wasted on the accumulated throng.

But their strength and ammunition were exhausted in this laborious defence ; the ditch was filled with the bodies of the slain ; they supported the footsteps of their companions ; and of this devoted vanguard, the death was more serviceable than the life.

In that fatal moment, the Janissaries arose, fresh, vigorous, and invincible. The Sultán himself on horseback, with an iron mace in his hand was the spectator and judge of their valour ; he was surrounded by ten thousand of his domestic troops whom he reserved for the decisive occasion ; and the tide of battle was directed and impelled by his voice and eye.

The first who deserved the Sultán's reward was Hasan, the Janissary of gigantic stature and strength. With his scimitar in one hand, and his buckler in the other, he ascended the outward fortification ; of the thirty Janissaries who were emulous of his valour, eighteen perished in the bold adventure. Hasan and his twelve companions had reached the summit ; the giant was precipitated from the rampart ; he rose on one knee, and was again oppressed by a shower of darts and stones. But his success had proved that the achievement was possible ; the walls and towers were instantly covered with a swarm of Turks ; and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage ground, were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. Amidst these multitudes, the emperor, who accomplished all the duties of a general and a soldier was long seen, and finally lost.

The prudent despair of Constantine cast away the purple ; amidst the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain.¹ After his death, resistance and order were no more ; the Greeks fled towards the city ; and many were

¹ His head was cut off and publicly exhibited. It was subsequently embalmed and sent round to the chief cities of Asia, See Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks*, p. 136.

pressed and stifled in the narrow pass of the gate of St. Romanus.

It was thus, after a siege of forty-three days, that Constantinople, which had defied the power of Chosroes, the Chagan, and the Caliphs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mohamet the Second. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins; her religion was trampled in the dust by the Muslim conquerors.

From every part of the capital they flowed into the church of St. Sophia. In the space of an hour, the sanctuary, the choir, the nave, the upper and lower galleries were filled with the multitudes of fathers and husbands; of women and children, of priests, monks and religious virgins. The doors were broken with axes; and as the Turks encountered no resistance, their bloodless hands were employed in selecting and securing the multitude of their prisoners. In the space of an hour, the male captives were bound with cords, the females with their veils and girdles. The senators were linked with their slaves; the prelates with the porters of the church; and young men of a plebeian class with noble maids, whose faces had been invisible save to the Sun and their nearest kindred. The loudest in their wailings were the nuns, who were torn from the altar with naked bosoms outstretched hands, and dishevelled hair.

Thus after a siege of fifty-three days fell the glorious capital of the eastern empire. The Khalifas of Damascus¹ and of Baghdad, and three previous Turkish Sultáns had failed to capture it. Muḥammad succeeded in doing that which it had long been the aim of many Muslim rulers to accomplish. The emperor, Constantine Palaeologus, the last and

¹ See Sell, *The Umayyad and the 'Abbásid Khalifates* (C.L.S.), p. 33.

noblest of the Caesars, died a brave and honourable death, in striking contrast to the weak and cowardly Musta'shim bi'lláh,¹ the last 'Abbásid Khalífa, at the sack of Baghdad in 1258; in its day as memorable an event as the fall of the capital of the ancient Byzantine empire two centuries after.

What was the effect of the capture of Constantinople upon the Sultánate? It transformed a chieftain and military leader into an emperor. The Turks looked upon Constantinople as the capital of the world and felt their own importance increased by their occupation of it. The Greek emperors had assumed to themselves, as by divine right, the leadership of Christendom. The Turks sought to emulate their example and, in course of time, the Sultáns became *de facto*, though not *de jure*, the Khalífas of the Islámic world. The simplicity of the camp life was changed for the pomp and luxury of an oriental court. This was one among many causes which finally led to the decline of the Ottoman empire.

Muḥammad increased his European dominions by the conquest of a great part of Serbia, with the exception of Belgrade. Flushed with the conquest of Constantinople, he looked upon the capture of Belgrade as an easy task. He was mistaken. The garrison made a gallant resistance under John Capistran and Hunyady. On July 21, 1456, the

¹ *The Umayyad and the Abbásid Khalífates*, pp. 106, 108.

great assault was made, the Janissaries carried the trenches and advanced within the walls, only to be repelled by the courage of the besieged. Then Capistran, filled with a fiery zeal, led his men right into the Turkish camp, and they carried all before them. In all this he was ably seconded by Hunyady, before whose troops the Turkish army fled, defeated and depressed. Hunyady survived this crowning triumph of his career less than a month; and shortly after John Capistran also passed away. In after years he was canonized by the Pope for his valiant deeds, which well deserved the veneration of Christendom, and which are remembered in Belgrade, that city of many sieges, to this day.

Bosnia was also attacked and the king and his sons gave themselves up on condition that their lives should be spared. Muḥammad with the consent of his chief legal adviser broke his promise and the king was assassinated. His progress further north was arrested by the bravery of Hunyady. In Albania he was long and successfully opposed by Skanderbeg (Iskender Beg—Prince Alexander) the national hero of the Albanians.

I give a short account of this remarkable man. His father was the hereditary prince of a district in Albania, who had to pay tribute to the Sultān and in 1423 to deliver up to Sultān Murád II his four sons as pledges of his fidelity. They were made Muslims. The one with whom we are now concerned was well

educated, trained for the army and promoted to high rank. He was a great favourite with Sultán Murád. When his father died, his brothers were poisoned and the principality was annexed by the Turks. Skanderbeg, however, dissembled his resentment at this cruelty and injustice and patiently abided the time when he could become an independent ruler in his own land. In 1443 he found his opportunity. He deserted his post, and by an act of treachery, involving murder, he gained possession of Croca the chief city in Albania, and proclaimed himself a Christian. Murád sent three expeditions against him and they all failed. Muḥammad succeeded no better and in 1461 concluded a treaty by which Skanderbeg was recognized as the independent ruler of Albania. For five and twenty years he kept his country free and so prevented the Turkish advance into Italy. After his death in 1467 his son and successor sold Albania to the Venetians, who in 1478 resold it to the Turks. It then became a Turkish province, unruly from the first days until now when the doubtful gift of autonomy has been granted to it.

The Venetian republic was next attacked but saved by a treaty made in 1479, which was much to its disadvantage. Greece, some of the islands in the Aegean, and Sinope and Trebizond in the Black Sea became part of the Turkish empire.

The Turks had now begun to form a navy and a powerful expedition was sent to capture Rhodes

in 1480, but owing to the bravery of the Knights of St. John it entirely failed. One result, however, of this war was that the Turks gained command of the sea. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries no Christian flag was allowed to navigate the Euxine. 'All knowledge of its shores was lost, its cities lay beyond the sphere of trade and the countries once frequented by Genoese and Venetian merchants became as much a region of mystery as they had been before Jason made his voyage in search of the Golden Fleece.'¹ The Turks also had a great fleet in the Mediterranean and were thus enabled to land a force in the year 1480 on Italian soil and stormed Otranto, a fort near Brindisi, many of the inhabitants of which were cruelly put to death. The Sultán intended to follow up this initial success, for in the words of Gibbon 'his lofty genius aspired to the conquest of Italy and the same reign might have been decorated with the trophies of the new and the ancient Rome.'²

Sultán Muḥammad was more than a warrior, he was a distinguished administrator;³ and a brief account of the political system which, based on that

¹ Finlay, *History of Greece* (London, 1856), p. 125.

² Gibbon, *Roman Empire*, vol. vii, p. 340.

³ 'Muḥammad II was one of those great men whose personal conduct, from their superiority of talent and firmness of purpose, modifies the course of public events, when it is granted to them, as it was to him, to exercise their influence during a long period of time.' Finlay, *History of Greece* (London, 1856), p. 19.

of previous rulers, was perfected by him will be of interest. The Institutes of Muḥammad in their figurative language describe the empire under the metaphor of a tent. The 'lofty door of the royal tent' denotes the chief seat of government. In Italian this is *La Porta Sublima* from which we have the 'Sublime Porte' by which to this day the Turkish Government is known. The state is represented as being supported by four pillars: the viziers, the judges, the treasurers, the secretaries. The viziers were four in number, the chief of whom was the Grand Vizier. The council of state was known as the Divan, with its many officials. The provincial administration was in the hands of Beys and Derebeys who held land on a feudal tenure. At first the term Pasha was a title of honour, but gradually it became limited in its use and practically synonymous with the rank of a military leader, or the office of a civilian governor. The land of a conquered country was divided into three parts. The first was set aside for the support of mosques and other pious foundations. Such property was waqf, that is, reserved for religious purposes, and could not be alienated. A second part became the private property of the individuals into whose possession it came. If the owner was a Muslim he paid tithes; if a Christian a tax on the land, called kharāj and in addition the jizya, or poll-tax. The third portion was subdivided into many parts.

Some went to the Sultán and his family ; some to various officials and some to the holders of military fiefs. A fief often contained from three to five hundred acres. The owner had to supply when required a number of horsemen for the army. A Sandjak Bey had to bring into the field more than twenty fully-armed horsemen; the Ziams any number between four and nineteen, the Timariots came alone or with two or three followers.¹ These fiefs were held as hereditary property.

The feudal system in Europe grew up under comparatively weak rulers ; in Turkey it came into existence under strong and vigorous ones. The result was that in the former case it resulted in the growth of a powerful aristocracy ; in the latter it did not. The reasons for this striking difference seem to have been : (1) the Sultáns during the period of the rise of the empire were vigorous, energetic and able men ; (2) the religious system of Islám exalts the position of the ruler but maintains a feeling of equality between his subjects ; (3) the absence of any deep-seated desire for popular assemblies.

The feudal system was used for national defence, but, whether for good or ill, seems to have had little influence on the administration of the country.

¹ For an exhaustive description of the military contingents due from each fief, see *The Travels of Evliya* (London, 1846), pp. 101-3.

Later on, when the era of feeble Sultáns set in, these feudal lords—the Derebeys—became hereditary chiefs and a powerful aristocracy owning little allegiance to the central government and had finally to be suppressed by Sultán Muḥammad in the nineteenth century.

Muḥammad II looked upon the ‘Ulamá’¹ as an important body of men learned in dogmatics and law, from whom religious teachers and legists were drawn. They were organized into a distinct body, and arrangements were made for their education and training. They were treated with honour by the government and so, as professors and judges, commanded the respect of the people. Schools, from the simple maktab, or elementary schools, and colleges were founded. The whole system of education was good and suitable for its purpose. The regulations for the non-Christian subjects were those common to all Muslim countries. They were Dhimmís, that is, they were allowed to live on payment of a poll-tax. Under fanatical rulers their lot was a hard one, but generally speaking they were fairly well-treated, except in the matter of the tribute of their children for the corps of Janissaries.

When the Ottoman empire was powerful conversions to Islám were frequent, and such renegades were often promoted to high offices. During the

¹ Plural form of ‘Álim, a learned man.

reigns of Suleymán I and Salím II out of ten Grand Viziers eight were renegades.¹

In addition to all these important matters of administration Muḥammad gave personal attention to the rules for ceremonial etiquette, police regulations, and the criminal law. The regulations for these were codified under his supervision. This code is known as the *Muleka'u'l-Abḥár*—The Confluence of Seas—a name which expresses the comprehensiveness of its enactments. It was for a long time, and may be still, an important legal code in the Ottoman empire.

I conclude this notice of the administration of Muḥammad II by a quotation from his Institutes which shows that amidst much that was admirable there was that which is inhuman and detestable. It is thus recorded:—

The majority of my jurists have pronounced that those of my illustrious descendants who ascend the throne may put their brothers to death, in order to secure the repose of the world. It will be their duty to act accordingly.²

Prince Jem (Jemshid), the older and abler of Muḥammad's two sons, a man who possessed his father's vigour and was courteous and cultured, did

¹ For an account of the skilful way in which Muḥammad dealt with the Greek clergy, see Finlay, *History of Greece* (London, 1856), pp. 161-4.

² Von Hammer, *Geschichte Osmanischen Reiches* (Buda-Pesth 1835), book xvii.

not hear of his father's death until Báyazíd had reached Constantinople and secured the allegiance of the Janissaries, and so Báyazíd II ascended the throne. He had to reward the Janissaries, and this led to the establishment of the custom of the accession-bakshish, granted to them when a new Sultán came to the throne. His long reign (1481-1512) was not a glorious one, for the Sultán was a very lethargic and incompetent ruler. Prince Jem contested the succession for a year, but was beaten and found refuge with the knights of Rhodes, to whom Báyazíd, after some vain attempts to come to terms with Jem, paid a large sum of money to keep Jem a prisoner. The knights then sent him to one of their settlements at Nice. The various European rulers were anxious to gain possession of the prince. Charles VIII of France took Jem away from the knights and consigned him to the custody of Pope Innocent VIII, who then agreed to keep him safe, and received for so doing the sum of 40,000 ducats a year from Báyazíd. During the long years of Jem's captivity many kings and princes held out hopes of his restoration to the Sultánate and indeed it was this which Báyazíd feared. The next Pope, Alexander Borgia, demanded a lump sum down for his work as jailer. Then the king of France again intervened and took possession of the unhappy Jem; but it is said that Borgia in revenge caused Jem to be poisoned. Some, however, say he died of grief

in 1494. Whichever story is true the whole transaction was shameful. For the sake of money the head of the Church and the Grand Master of a great Order betrayed a man worthy of all the support they could give him. It was a disgraceful act in the intercourse of Christendom with Turkey. In captivity Prince Jem occupied his time in composing poetry, of which the following is a specimen :—

Bird of my soul, be patient of thy cage,
This body, lo ! how fast it wastes with age,
The tinkling bells already do I hear
Proclaim the caravan's departure near ;
Soon shall it reach the land of nothingness
And thee, from fleshly bonds delivered, bless.

In the north there were frequent wars with varying success to either side. A war with Sháh Ismá'il of Persia gave some trouble. The Mamlúks of Egypt also waged war upon the Turks in Asia. Báyzíd's later years were troubled by the dissensions among his sons. Salím the younger and most vigorous of them, supported by the Janissaries, attacked his father's troops at Adrianople, and caused him to abdicate in his favour. Báyzíd died soon after to the great relief of the rulers and people of the neighbouring states.

Salím I (1512-20) had two brothers alive, and several nephews. He determined to put them all away. He watched from a window the murder of five nephews. Being thus secure from domestic

strife he turned his attention to his eastern dominions. He first attacked the Safavid monarch Sháh Ismá'íl, the head of the Shí'ah Muslims. The contest was long but in the battle of Cháldirán (1514) the Turks won a great victory, captured Tabríz, and sent a thousand of its skilled workmen to Constantinople. Salím had made a vow that, if he won a victory over Shí'ah Persians, he would build three grand mosques—one at Jerusalem, another in Buda and a third at Rome; but his death prevented the fulfilment—or attempt at fulfilment—of his vow. After the Persian campaign he resolved to wrest Egypt from the Mamlúks. In this he was successful, and thus nearly doubled the extent of the Ottoman dominions. Egypt became a province of Turkey, and the rule of the Mamlúk Sultáns came to an end. The Mamlúks as a separate body, however, remained under their Shaikhu'l-Beled, or Mayor, a powerful community and often gave trouble to the Turkish governor.

The Mamlúks had revived the 'Abbásid Khalífate in Cairo,¹ and Salím brought away with him to Constantinople, the Khalífa, Mutawakkil, who made over to him his spiritual authority, such as it was, and Salím became the Khalífa of Islám. Mutawakkil had no authority whatever to do this, for none but a member of the Arab tribe of the Quraish

¹ See *The Mamlúks in Egypt* (C.L.S.) pp. 6-9.

should hold this office. He also gave up the symbols of the office, the sacred banner and cloak of the Prophet, which are still preserved in the Seraglio at Constantinople. However, whatever he was *de jure*, Salím became *de facto* the Khalífa over all the orthodox section of Muslims who elect to own his authority. The office is now shorn of any real power, but it adds somewhat to the prestige of the Sultáns of Turkey, some of whom, such as 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd I, have in vain tried to use it to foster a pan-Islámic movement.

When Muḥammad II captured the island of Lesbos in 1462 he left there a soldier named Ya'qúb, whose two sons, Urúj Barbarossa and Khairu'd-dín,¹ became successful mariners and famous Corsairs. Soon after the conquest of Egypt, Salím received messengers from Khairu'd-dín, asking for his favour and protection, offering in return to make over the province of Algiers which he had won. The Sultán was delighted, accepted the proposal, and so added a new and valuable province to his African dominions (1519). The bold Corsair was made Beglerbeg (governor) of Algiers and invested with

¹ 'It is possible that Barbarossa is but a European corruption of Baba Urúj or Father Urúj, as his men called him. At all events Urúj is the real Barbarossa, though modern writers generally give the name to his younger brother, Khairu'd-dín, who was only called Barbarossa on account of his kinship to the original.' S. Lane-Poole, *The Barbary Corsairs*, p. 38, foot-note.

the insignia of office—the horse, the sword, and the horse-tail banners.

Salím, a bold and vigorous warrior, was cruel in his disposition and practice. In the year 1514 he ordered the massacre of forty thousand Shí'ahs and then prepared to murder the Christians. He asked the Shaikhu'l-Islám whether the conversion of the nations to Islám was better than their conquest. The answer was in the affirmative. To the horror of his advisers the Sultán then ordered that all Christians should be slain and that their churches should be turned into mosques. The Shaikhu'l-Islám, who had not expected that his reply would be thus interpreted, with great difficulty saved the lives of the Christians; but could not preserve their churches, though he gained permission for them, on the loss of their beautiful sanctuaries, to worship in mean and inferior buildings.

The next Sultán was Suleymán the Magnificent (1520-66). He rightly deserves this name for his long reign was one of the most brilliant in Turkish history. It was a century of great rulers—Charles V, Francis I, Elizabeth, and Akbar—and amongst them all Suleymán held no second place. It has been well said :—

The most remarkable feat that the Turks achieved during the glorious century was that they survived it. With such forces as were arrayed against them, with Europe roused from its long sleep, and ready to seize arms and avenge its long disgrace upon the infidels, it

was to be expected that the fall of the Ottoman power must ensure. Instead, we shall see that this power was not only able to meet the whole array of rejuvenated Europe on equal terms, but emerged from the conflict stronger and more triumphant than ever.¹

Muhammad II had failed to capture Belgrade or to get possession of the island of Rhodes. Suleymán succeeded in securing both. Belgrade was then fortified more strongly and the possession of it brought Venice as a humble suppliant, willing as the price of safety to become the Sultán's vassal. Now that Egypt was a part of the empire, it became highly necessary to secure Rhodes in order to get command of the sea, and so in 1522 a powerful expedition of over a hundred thousand troops was despatched. The Turkish troops were skilled in attacking fortified positions and possessed artillery far superior to that of their opponents; so the siege was prosecuted with great vigour. The garrison consisted of 5,000 men, of whom 500 were knights. The seamen of the port and the citizens rendered valuable assistance, but the Grand Master and his knights looked in vain for succour from Europe, and so after a brave defence of several months they capitulated on honourable terms, being allowed to depart with weapons and property. They retired to Malta, which shortly after they successfully defended against Suleymán. The Sultán had a personal

¹ S. Lane-Poole, *Turkey*, p. 166.

interview with the Grand Master, Villiers de L'Isle Adam, a French knight of renown, and expressed to him his regret at having to make him leave his ancient home at Rhodes. The valour of the knights had won the admiration of the Ottomans and the armorial bearings on their houses were not defaced and some of them may be seen even to this day. The inhabitants of Rhodes also received good terms, for Suleymán could be a generous victor. They were to have unrestricted liberty as regards religion, and were exempted from the payment of tribute for five years.

A short period of peace followed in which the Sultán attended to the internal affairs of the empire. An attempt to curtail the large donations to the Janissaries led to trouble with that masterful and turbulent body. The best way to keep them quiet was to find them warlike occupation and the chance of securing booty. This plan was supported by the able Vizier Ibráhím. This wise and prudent official, in whom the Sultán placed implicit trust, had been captured as a lad by Corsairs, sold as a slave and passed into the service of Prince Suleymán when he was a provincial governor. Ibráhím became an accomplished scholar and an amusing entertainer, and so rapidly rose in his master's favour until he reached the high office of Vizier. When Suleymán became Sultán, Ibráhím strongly urged the war against Hungary which took place in 1526.

The Turkish army, 100,000 strong with three hundred guns, marched out from Belgrade, crossed the Danube, took several cities and finally on the field of Mohacs (August 28, 1526), defeated the Hungarian army under king Louis II. The Hungarian force was much smaller than that of the Turks, but they rushed boldly to the attack and easily overcame the first line of the opposing army. They had forgotten the Ottoman tactics of placing inferior troops in the van (*ante* p. 8) and thought that victory was near, but behind the retreating troops were three hundred guns and the famous corps of the Janissaries. The result was a most disastrous defeat for the Hungarians. Twenty thousand men perished. The king, bishops and archbishops, and a great number of lords and many nobles gave up their lives on the fatal field of Mohacs. Buda and Pesth were occupied; the country round was ravaged; and one hundred thousand captives were taken away to be sold as slaves. The great library in the palace of Hunyady's famous son Matthias,¹ one of the ablest kings of Hungary, was taken to Constantinople.² The defeat at Mohacs ruined Hungary and petty strife amongst the nobles ensued, the result of which was that for a hundred

¹ For an account of this great ruler, see Vambery, *Hungary*, ch. x.

² Vambery says the library was burnt (*Hungary*, p. 289); but on p. 295 he says part of it was taken to Constantinople.

and forty years. Hungary became a province of the Turkish empire.

Then began a dispute with the emperor Charles V.¹ The Turks appointed Zapolya who had been the Voyvode of Transylvania as the nominal king of Hungary; but the Archduke Ferdinand, brother of the emperor Charles, claimed the throne. Francis I of France, not wishing to see the emperor's power increased, urged the Turks to withstand Ferdinand's claim. Zapolya appealed to Suleymán, who resolved to interfere in this civil war. He declined all overtures made by Ferdinand and again took the field with an enormous army; he recaptured Buda which for a hundred and forty years onwards was controlled by the Turks. He also restored Zapolya to his throne.

The Sultán now determined on a bold stroke and advanced to besiege Vienna. His irregular cavalry devastated the country through which they passed, plundering and destroying all they could lay hands on, and carrying off men, women and children into captivity. Meanwhile, Austria made great efforts to meet the danger, and Vienna was provisioned and made ready for a siege. Houses were destroyed

¹ King Louis died without leaving a son and heir. By an ancient law of Hungary only a native prince could reign, and on this law Zapolya based his claim. Ferdinand was brother-in-law to Louis and on that relationship and also on a treaty claimed the throne.

near the wall, which was strengthened in its weakest parts and entrenchments were made on the banks of the Danube. Non-combatants were sent away and many fell victims to Suleymán's ruthless soldiers whom they encountered in their fight.

The garrison of Vienna consisted of less than twenty-five thousand men ; but they were brave and determined. They successfully repelled all assaults and maintained excellent spirits.¹ Suleymán had once made a vow that he would 'breakfast in Vienna, and now as the attack went on and was successfully met, the Viennese sent to tell him that his breakfast was getting cold. The last assault led by the Janissaries failed and the siege which had lasted three weeks was raised (October 14, 1529). It was 'a famous day in German history : it is the anniversary of the peace of Westphalia and of Vienna, the battles of Hochkirchen, Jenu and Leipsic and of the capture of Ulm.'² Four years after, peace was made (1533) and Hungary was divided between Zapolya and Ferdinand. The peace did not last long and another war was made, which ended in Ferdinand's consenting to pay a large annual tribute. A five years truce was then made, after which hostilities recommenced and continued during the rest of the Sultán's life.

¹ For a good account of the defence of Vienna, see Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks*, pp. 269-74.

² S. Lane-Poole, *Turkey*, p. 191.

Meanwhile the Shí'ah subjects of the empire in Asia had been giving very much trouble; but Suleymán very soon put the revolt down, captured Baghdad in 1534, and then annexed the whole country of Armenia. Successful by land, the Sultán also asserted his power at sea under his famous admiral Khairu'ddín. This brought him into conflict with Venice.

In Suleymán's reign the naval power of the Ottomans increased rapidly. Urúj Barbarossa was dead, but his brother Khairu'd-dín, also called Barbarossa, was a man of great courage and determination. He had been appointed Governor-General of Algiers by Salím I in 1519, and soon the ports of Barbary passed into his possession and his Corsairs were masters of the sea. Their prizes were rich and numerous, and he rescued many thousands of Moors then in servitude in Spain. Suleymán appreciated the valuable aid which the number and boldness of the Corsairs gave him. He was anxious to see and consult Barbarossa and in 1533 the great Corsair sailed from Algiers to Constantinople, where he was received with much honour. He spent the winter there, improved the build of vessels of war, and in the spring had a formidable fleet of ships ready for sea. He led them into the Straits of Messina, bombarded Reggio, captured many vessels and did damage to the coast towns. He captured Tunis, but was

driven away by an expedition sent by Charles V. He then proceeded to Minorca, gained much treasure and many prisoners, all of whom he took to Algiers, and in due course returned to Constantinople. He was, now made Captain Pasha, or admiral of the fleet. Meanwhile, the great Genoese admiral, Andrea Doria, was scouring the seas in search of Barbarossa. At last they met, for a war with Venice had broken out. The Venetian fleet was in the Adriatic and Barbarossa in 1538 went to meet it, with one hundred and fifty ships. Many of the most famous Corsairs of the day were with him. The Venetian fleet was much larger, but he was able to anchor in a spacious gulf. He wisely, in view of his inferiority in the number of vessels, determined to wait there till attacked. The Venetian fleet appeared and both watched each other for some time—Doria unwilling to attack; Barbarossa too good a strategist to come into the open. Then Doria sailed away. The Turks could not be restrained and set sail after him. A battle ensued without any decisive result as regards the destruction of either fleet, for Doria again sailed away. Still it was a great moral victory for the Turks. The most renowned admiral of the day, with two hundred ships of war belonging to three great Christian states had sailed away before a smaller Ottoman fleet. Suleymán was delighted when he heard the news, and henceforth for many

a long year to come the fleet of the Turkish Sultán ruled supreme in the Mediterranean. About the same time another fleet sailed into the Indian Ocean and on the return voyage captured Aden.

Insurrections in Hungary recurred for some years and in 1547 Sultán Suleymán, the emperor Charles and king Ferdinand signed at Adrianople a truce for five years, Ferdinand consenting to pay a tribute of 20,000 ducats and to recognize all the Turkish conquests in Hungary. This gave Suleymán some leisure, and he was able to resume his contest with Persia. He gained Armenia and Georgia and captured Erzerum. The conflict lingered on for some years, until in 1555 a treaty was made, the first one ever signed by both Sháh and Sultán.

In 1565 Suleymán made an unsuccessful attack on Malta, now held by the Knights of St. John, lately expelled from Rhodes. They fortified the excellent harbours and strengthened the defences. A fleet of one hundred and eighty-one vessels and an army of 30,000 men comprised the expedition. For four months the attack was maintained with vigour and was met by a stubborn resistance. At last in the beginning of September a fleet, sent by the Viceroy of Sicily, appeared and the Turks departed. The failure of this attempt was a cause of much grief to Suleymán.¹

¹ For a full account of the siege, see Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks*, vol. i, pp. 304-9.

Meanwhile irregular fighting went on in Hungary for some years. Then in 1566 Suleymán determined to make a supreme effort to restore order and compel obedience to his will. For the sixth time he invaded Hungary, this time with a force of 200,000 men and three hundred guns. He first attacked the fortress of Szigetvár. Nicholas Zrinyi, the commandant, was a brave man and, after collecting in the fort about two thousand five hundred men and a good stock of provisions, he awaited the attack. The siege was prolonged and Zrinyi would listen to no promises of reward for himself, and was deterred by no severe threats of punishment for his obstinacy. The Sultán, wearied with the delay and, perhaps, annoyed at being held at bay by such a puny force, gave orders for a grand assault. It is thus described :—

The aged ruler, who now but rarely showed himself to his soldiers, mounted his favourite charger and appeared amongst the Janissaries in order to rouse and encourage them. His troops rushed enthusiastically into the fight, for which the artillery and the engineers conducting the siege had made every preparation many days before. But Zrinyi was ready and wide-awake, and drove the assailants back with great slaughter.¹

Another attack, made a few weeks later on, succeeded, yet even then Zrinyi and his men did not capitulate. He gathered the little band together in the inner fort to which they had

¹ Vambery, *Hungary*, p. 315.

retired, praised them for their courage and, saying that the road to death was the road to honour, urged them to show that the conclusion of their heroic career was worthy of their past. The bridge was lowered and Zrinyi and his faithful six hundred followers sallied forth, and after a fierce struggle all but a few soldiers perished. The Turks rushed into the fort, but a mine was exploded which led to a loss of some thousands of men. The rest returned home, after losing 30,000 men in the capture of the city. Zrinyi's fame spread far and wide and won for him the admiration of all Europe.

A few days before the siege was over Suleymán died in camp (September 6, 1566) after a reign of forty-six years. A beautiful elegy by a Turkish poet speaks of his burial thus :—

He, to the lustre of whose sword the Hunnish paynim
bowed ;

He, whose dread sabre's flash hath wrought the
wilderer Frank's despair

Like tender rose-leaf, gently laid he in the dust his
face ;

And earth, the guardian, placed him like a jewel in
his case.

He was the greatest of all the Turkish rulers. Wise in administration, just in his dealings, courteous and cultivated, he rightly earned the name of Suleymán the Magnificent. Yet like so many eastern rulers, with all that was commendable and praiseworthy, there was a vein of inhumanity

and cruelty in his character. He was personally devoted to his able vizier Ibráhím, and yet one day in 1536 from some cause or other he became jealous of him and put him to death. He married a Russian lady, named Khurrem (Joyous) but known by Europeans as Roxelana. This lady had a son Şalím whose chance of becoming Sultán was barred by his half-brother Muşţafá. At Khurrem's instigation Suleymán had Muşţafá slain. Another son Báyazíd and his young children met with a similar fate. These were blots on a great career, marked on the whole by more than the usual wisdom and justice shown by oriental despots.

In his reign the first ambassador from France came to his court (1534), and a year after the first capitulations with France were made.¹ Suleymán

¹ These were afterwards made with other European states. By virtue of the capitulations foreigners do not come under the jurisdiction of Turkish courts of law. Their cases can only be tried in consular courts. Cases between foreigners and Turks are tried in Turkish courts, but a consular dragoman is then present to watch the procedure. In modern times, the Turks have tried to do away with the capitulations but the European states would not give way. In 1914, just before the declaration of war between England and Turkey, the Turkish Government, without giving any notice, suddenly abolished them, and that is how the matter stands at present. After the war is over the whole question will be reopened and the action of the Turkish Government will be condoned or repudiated. In the present chaotic state of the Turkish administration it is not probable that the European states will relinquish so necessary a safeguard for the legal protection of their subjects.

left the empire, wealthy, prosperous and extended. The annual revenue was 12,000,000 ducats, which was double that of the great empire over which Charles V ruled. Exports were large, trade was good and the population was increasing. Later on the extortion of the Pashas ruined commerce and decreased the population, and the prosperous days of Suleymán were known no more. In the eastern parts of it were the famous cities of Baghdad, Damascus, Jerusalem, Cairo with many others; in Europe, Constantinople, Adrianople, Athens, Belgrade and Buda. Supreme at sea, the Turkish fleets were masters of the Mediterranean, the Red, and the Black Seas. The kings of Europe could not withstand its power by land or sea. Nearly three hundred years had passed away since Ertoghul and his little band of Ottomans first came into notice and now a great and mighty empire had grown from so small a beginning. The Ottoman empire had now reached the height of its fame, and the zenith of its glory. Henceforth, there is decline and decay; but until now it had produced a most remarkable series of rulers, to whose energy and powers of administration, and to whose strong wills, which made subjects obey and enemies fear, the great prosperity of the Ottoman empire is mainly due.

No other dynasty can boast such a succession of brilliant sovereigns as those who conducted the Ottomans

to the height of renown in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Orkhan, the taker of Nicaea and founder of the Janissaries; Murád I, the conqueror at Kosovo; Báyzíd I, the victor of Nicopolis; Muḥammad I, the restorer of the shattered empire; Murád II, the antagonist of Hunyady and of Skanderbeg; Muḥammad II, the conqueror of Constantinople; Salím I, who annexed Kurdistan, Syria, and Egypt; and Suleymán the Magnificent, the victor on the field of Mohacs and the besieger of Vienna. Never did eight such sovereigns succeed one another (save for the feeble Báyzíd II) in unbroken succession in any other country; never was an empire founded and extended during two such splendid centuries by such a series of great rulers. In the hour of dismay, as well as in the moment of triumph, the Turkish Sultán was master of the situation.¹

Still what has been so well said of Turkish rule in India, is also true of the rule of the Ottoman Turks in Europe, even in its most brilliant period. It 'does not mean the growth of constitutions, the development of civic rights, the vindication of individual liberty, or the evolution of self-government.'²

¹ S. Lane-Poole, *Turkey*, p. 78.

² S. Lane-Poole, *Mediæval India*, p. 60.

II. THE DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE

SULEYMAN was succeeded by his son Salīm II (1566-74). We now enter upon a period of decline, arrested now and then by a brief period of recovery. The Sultāns of the past had been brave warriors and skilful administrators, who kept their vast dominions in order and extended them. Their successors with a few exceptions were weak, degenerate men, who preferred the joys of the harem to the stern realities of the battle field.¹ They lost the esteem of the army which did what the body-guards in Baghdad had done—set up and deposed Sultāns at its will. With effeminate Sultāns, incompetent officers and corrupt administrators, it is no wonder that the decline was real and persistent. It is only another example of what always takes place in Muslim states. It was so in the latter days of the 'Abbásid Khalífate in Baghdad, in

¹ They are thus described by a Muslim writer: 'Instead of identifying themselves with the life of their people and priding themselves on being the light that guided them, the Sultāns now retired into the harems and gave themselves up to a life of ease and indulgence utterly foreign to the habits and principles of their great predecessors.' 'Alí Haidar Midhat Bey, *The Life of Midhat Pasha* (London, 1903), p. 14.

Spain at the close of the Umayyad Khalífate, in Cairo when the early and strong Mamlúk rulers like Beybars gave place to weak and inefficient men, and in India in the last days of the decrepit Delhi rulers.

Salím II was surnamed the Sot ; but so well had the empire been organized by his great father that it could not suddenly fall to pieces. He had the good fortune to possess in Muḥammad Sokolli an efficient Vizier. Arabia was subdued, Cyprus was captured and Tunisea became a Turkish province. The Pope, Venice and Spain now united, and an allied fleet under Don John of Austria, who had already won fame in the wars against the Moors in Spain, met and defeated the Turkish fleet at Lepanto in 1571. The latter was the stronger force, but after a severe conflict ninety-four Turkish vessels were sunk and over a hundred were captured. This great victory did away with the idea that the Turkish fleet was invincible ; but its material effect was small. Venice withdrew from the alliance and made a separate peace, and a new Turkish fleet was soon got ready for sea. It was under the command of Ochiali, the last of the great Corsairs. He recaptured Tunis which Don John had taken in 1573, but nothing permanent followed from this transient revival of naval power.

Murád III the next Sultán (1574-95) was a very inefficient ruler. His first public act was to order

the assassination of his five brothers. Though he kept Sokolli in office he was jealous of him and often thwarted his plans. Other able men were set aside for those who purchased their appointments, or were promoted through harem influence. The corps of Janissaries now grew in strength to 48,000 men, as the regulations regarding admission were much relaxed. Under the rule of a weak Sultán, the growing power of this turbulent body of men was a standing menace.

Next to the dowager Sultána, or as that lady is usually called in Turkish the Sultána Valida, the lady who had most influence over Murád was a foreigner. Murád took as one of his wives a Venetian captive lady, Şafiyya, who exercised over her husband and then over his son and successor great influence, which she used always for the promotion of her favourites. She contrived, however, to keep the Sultán on good terms with Venice. It was during this reign that the first British embassy was sent to Constantinople (1589) with the view of obtaining an alliance with the Turks against Philip II of Spain.

The next Sultán was Muḥammad III (1595-1603). As soon as Murád was dead, Şafiyya, now Sultána Valida, recalled her son Muḥammad from his provincial governorship and had him proclaimed Sultán. He was a weak-minded man, though sometimes energetic and more often violent. His father had a

family of one hundred and three children, of whom twenty sons and twenty-seven daughters survived him. One of the first acts of Muḥammad was to slay his nineteen brothers and seven enceinte female slaves then in the harem. The political and military affairs of the empire were in almost hopeless confusion and the Sultán remained inactive. At last, though against the wishes of his mother Şafiyya, he was induced to lead the army in person, as his predecessors had so often done. The Shaikhu'l-Islám warned him of the danger of non-compliance with this request. For a time the tide of war went against the Turks and the Sultán betrayed considerable weakness, but in the last conflict victory was secured by the skilful tactics of a renegade named Scipio Cicala. The rest of the reign was quite inglorious, and the Sultán's last days were sullied by the murder of his son Maḥmúd, a prince of great promise, who had excited his father's jealousy. The mother of Maḥmúd and all his companions shared his sad fate. The Sultán died on December 22, 1603, unregretted and unlamented.

The courageous conduct of Scipio Cicala at the battle of Cerestes saved the empire from disaster. This young man was the son of an Italian Count who owned a fleet of privateers. In one of his forays he captured a number of Turkish ladies and married one of the most beautiful of them, who was baptized under the name of Lucretia. Her son

Cicala, in after years, was taken prisoner by the Turks. He embraced Islám, rapidly rose to high office and married the daughter of Sultán Suleymán. When he commanded the fleet he visited Sicily and had an interview with his mother. The beautiful woman, once a captive taken from her Turkish home and forcibly converted into a Christian matron, stood by her handsome son, who began his career as a Christian warrior, but was now a mighty champion of the Crescent and the determined foe of the Cross. It would be interesting to know what they felt and said. They never met again. Cicala was one of many renegades who have attained to high office, and in critical times have rendered valuable service to the Ottoman state.

Sultán Aḥmad I (1603-17) was a lad of fourteen years of age, when he succeeded his father. His reign is chiefly remarkable for the decline of the haughty tone of superiority the Sultáns had used with other potentates. Austria ceased to pay a tribute and its emperor was respectfully named in Turkish documents by his proper official title, while in a treaty he was regarded as an equal monarch.

The next Sultán, Muṣṭafá I, reigned only a few months when he was deposed in favour of his brother Uṭhmán II (1618-22). The Janissaries, who now elected their own Pasha and so were free from direct imperial control, deposed Uṭhmán and put him to

death. Muṣṭafá resumed authority but soon resigned in favour of his nephew.

Murád IV (1623–40) was only twelve years old when he ascended the throne, but he soon showed signs of a strong character, fitted to deal with the disorganized state of the empire. In this he was aided by his mother, a woman of great ability and energy. In Asia and in Africa there were wars and revolts. 'In Constantinople 'there was an empty treasury, a dismantled arsenal, a debased coinage, exhausted magazines, a starving population and a licentious soldiery.'¹ Seldom has a young ruler been called upon to face such adverse conditions. As he grew up to man's estate, he met his difficulties with resolution, and when he attained to power ruthlessly punished his rebellious subjects.

Every morning the Bosphorus threw up on its shores the corpses of those who had been executed during the preceding night; and in them the anxious spectators recognized Janissaries and Sipahis, whom they had lately seen parading the streets in all the haughtiness of military license.²

The Sultán now twenty years old took an active part and showed the utmost bravery in asserting his authority. Unfortunately the severe measures he had to adopt had a bad influence on his nature, and he became a blood-thirsty tyrant. On the least

¹ Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks*, vol. i, p. 395.

² *Ibid.*, p. 402.

suspicion officials were put to death, and so great was their fear that a summons to the Sultán's presence was viewed with the greatest alarm, and before they entered into his chamber, men made the ablutions which usually preceded death. At first he only executed traitors, then suspected officials, and finally any person who excited his displeasure. In his later years he became intemperate and still more ferocious. A favourite saying of his was: 'Vengeance never grows decrepit, though she may grow grey.' He tolerated no crime but his own, and so for the time saved his country. He won a victory over the Persians and captured Baghdad on November 15, 1638, which has remained Turkish to this day. The defence was strong and this so exasperated the Sultán that when the city was won, he only spared three hundred men out of a garrison of thirty thousand. The rest perished. He restored the navy, put down an insurrection in Albania and brought an amount of order into the administration which had long been absent from it.

Apart from his capricious cruelty Murád IV was a great Sultán and rendered good service to his empire but his cruelties were long remembered. One of his last acts was for no apparent reason to order the death of his brother Ibráhím. The Sultána Valida concealed the victim and made the Sultán believe that his order has been carried out. It is recorded that Murád then 'grinned a

ghastly smile' and tried to rise from his bed to see the corpse of his brother. In this savage state of mind he passed away on February 9, 1640.

The traveller Evliya Efendi tells us that Murád took much interest in the great mosque of Santa Sophia and worshipped there on Fridays. He erected a wooden enclosure near the southern door in which he placed cages of nightingales and so, in the quaint language of Evliya, 'their sweet notes, mingled with the sound of the Mu'adhdhin's voices, filled the mosque with a harmony approaching that of Paradise.'¹

The next twelve Sultáns until we come to Maḥmúd II (1808) were rulers of no weight or power. They were now brought up in the harems, and Turkey owed whatever vitality she possessed in those years to the vigour and ability of the Viziers. The Khalífa of Islám was a negligible quantity altogether. Of these Sultáns, four were deposed, one was assassinated and one resigned. Instead of describing the events in the reign of each of these incompetent rulers I shall take a rapid survey of the principal political events until the accession of Maḥmúd II in 1808.

During part of this period, if Sultáns were weak, many of the Viziers were strong men. Muḥammad Kuprili, an Albanian, who received that office in

¹ *Travels of Evliya* (London, 1846), p. 48.

1656 reorganized the fleet, recovered many islands which Venice had seized, and did much to arrest temporarily the decline of the empire. He was a strong and resolute man; armed with absolute power, he could brook no opposition. He is said to have executed thirty-six thousand persons during his five years term of office. He was succeeded by Koprili-zada Aḥmad, an equally strong and able man, who maintained control over the provinces and, though defeated in a war against Austria, was able to conclude an advantageous treaty of peace (1664). He also subdued the island of Crete. These advantages were somewhat lessened by the brilliant victory won by John Sobieski, King of Poland, over the Turks at Lemberg in 1675. This town, recently captured by the Russians, was the most northerly point of the Turkish advance in Europe.

The Cossacks of the Ukraine now began to assert their independence and applied to Russia for aid, the result of which was that Russia now received a cession of territory by a treaty made in 1681, the first of many to follow, all tending to weaken the Turkish empire.

The Reformation had taken deep root in Hungary, but was opposed by the Austrian government, which led on by the Jesuits initiated cruel persecutions against the Protestants. The Magyars, who had embraced the reformed faith, resented this and revolted. The Austrians who were Romanists

punished them with great severity. It so happened that at this time the grand Vizier, Kara Muştafá, was a very ambitious man who could brook no opposition,¹ and who saw in the civil war a grand opportunity for gaining Hungary and curbing the power of the House of Hapsburg. Whilst the Turkish empire sorely needed repose and reform, it was a foolish thing to enter upon a great war; but nothing could turn the Vizier from the desire to immortalize his name with a great victory, and so Sultán Muḥammad IV and the Vizier in the spring of 1683 set forth with an army of 400,000 men. It was the most determined attempt the Turks had ever made to crush the Christian nations. The army marched towards Vienna and commenced (July 14, 1683), the siege which has become so memorable for its brilliant relief. The fortifications of the city were in a bad* state of repair and the prospects of a sound defence were so poor that the Emperor and his Court fled to Bavaria, and had the grand Vizier hastened on, instead of wasting time by devastating the country through which he passed, he might have easily captured the city. The delay was made good use of by the people of Vienna, for the whole population worked hard at the defences and, as a precautionary measure, destroyed all houses in the suburbs.

¹ He reduced the corps of Janissaries to 17,000 men, but it soon rose again to 50,000.

Though the emperor showed himself to be a coward and ran away, there was a brave man left. Count Stahremberg was a true hero and took charge of the defence. For two months, the siege was pressed with vigour, but each assault was bravely repulsed and mines were met by counter mines: still the little band of 20,000 combatants could not hold out much longer. Their distressed condition has been thus described:—

The assaults so far had indeed been fruitless, for the Turkish scimitar was no match for the German halberd, sythe and battle-axe; but the mines were creeping toward the walls and sickness was raging in the city. To sickness followed famine. Cats were so valuable that a chase after the animal over the roofs became a recognized form of sport. The relieving army was known to be on the move, but would it come in time, or would it succeed in driving away the still immense, though diminishing, hosts of the Turks? ¹

John Sobieski, king of Poland, had bound himself by a treaty to assist the emperor Leopold of Austria and both confirmed it by an oath, sworn before the Pope's Legate. They, however, remembered that the Pope claimed a dispensing power (*ante p.* 30) and so they added a clause to the treaty which stated that 'it was not subject to retraction by Papal dispensation'. Sobieski's army 85,000 strong came up fresh and vigorous, and on September 12 completely defeated the Turkish

¹ S. Lane-Poole, *Turkey*, p. 231.

forces. The king's stirring address to the Polish soldiers was :—

Warriors and friends! Yonder in the plains are our enemies. We have to fight them on a foreign soil, but we fight for our own country, and under the walls of Vienna we are defending those of Warsaw and Cracow. We have to save to-day, not a single city, but the whole of Christendom, of which the city of Vienna is the bulwark. The war is a holy one. There is a blessing on our arms, and a crown of glory for him who falls. You fight not for your earthly sovereign, but for the King of Kings . . . I have but one command to give. Follow me! The time is come for the young to win their spurs.¹

The Grand Vizier prepared for the fight by slaughtering thirty thousand captives. This haughty cruel man was no general. He could slay helpless prisoners but was unable to lead men to victory. The defeat was complete. Three hundred guns and a vast quantity of war material were captured, the Janissaries were destroyed, and the army was utterly routed. Kara Muṣṭafá incurred the displeasure of his employer, and it is not perhaps to be regretted that he paid with his life for his foolish ambition and barbaric cruelty.

Vienna was, therefore, saved by the patient endurance and heroism of its defenders, by the skilful strategy of John Sobieski and the martial bravery of the relieving force. This was the last great effort made by the Turks to gain more ground in Europe and it failed. They never recovered from the blow,

¹ S. Lane-Poole, *Turkey*, p. 247.

and it now became possible for Hungary, so long the scence of continual wars, to regain her liberty. A few years after, the troops mutinied, dethroned Muḥammad IV and placed his brother Suleymán II (1687-91) on the throne.

From this time onward the gradual decline of the empire is shown by the various treaties made with foreign nations. The treaty of Carlowitz in 1699 took away from Turkey a good part of her Hungarian possessions; and Transylvania went to Austria. There were other adjustments of territory with Poland and Russia. Nineteen years later the remaining provinces in Hungary were given up and Turkish rule there ceased as entirely as that of the Moors in Spain had done in the fifteenth century. In the latter case the Moors left behind memorials of civilization, industry and art which added some glory to their rule; in Hungary the memorials of Turkish occupation were ruin and devastation. They left nothing to add any relief to the sad picture of the misery they had caused.

The treaty of Carlowitz is an important event for it marks the end of Turkey's power as a military nation for offensive purposes in Europe. She was no longer a standing menace to her neighbours in the north. It was also the first occasion on which the representatives of other Powers had taken any part in peace negotiations. Von Hammer says of this treaty :—

THE GROWING POWER OF RUSSIA 77

It marks the period when men ceased to dread the Ottoman empire as an aggressive power; it was then that the Porte and Russia took part, for the first time, in a general European congress; and by admitting the representatives of England and Holland, neither of which states was a party to the war, both the Sultán and the Czar admitted the principle of the intervention of the European Powers, one with another, for the sake of the general good.¹

An attempt to use the interval of peace for the promotion of internal reforms raised up much opposition and the Sultán, Muştafá II, was deposed.

The Russians were now a growing power and their wars, alliances and treaties with Turkey now became constant. Charles XII of Sweden, after his defeat at Pultowa (1709), took refuge in Turkey, and the Sultán Aḥmad III had the courage to refuse to give him up to Peter the Great. This led to a war with Russia. According to the custom, now discontinued, on the declaration of war the Turks imprisoned the Russian ambassador in the Castle of the Seven Towers.

The Turks gained the initial advantage on the banks of the river Pruth, and Peter found himself in a precarious position; but the empress Catherine bribed the Grand Vizier and saved the position. The treaty of the Pruth in 1711 and that of Constantinople in 1720 gave Russia some advantage and accession of territory. Soon after this seven

¹ *Geschichte Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. iii, p. 913.

provinces taken from Persia by Murád IV were recovered by Nádir Kulí Khán who in 1736 compelled the successor of Aḥmad III, the Sultán Maḥmúd I, to recognize him as the Sháh of Persia.

The reign of Aḥmad III, compared with that of many of his successors was not inglorious. He improved the finances, and though he lost some territory he also gained some. He was a liberal patron of literature and art. During his reign the first printing press was set up in Constantinople.

In 1736 another war broke out and Russia invaded the Crimea. Austria joined in and invaded Bosnia, Serbia and Wallachia, all Turkish provinces. The war was concluded by the treaty of Belgrade in 1739, by which that city was given up by Austria and generally the Turks had the best of the bargain; and it seemed as if evil days might be long deferred.

Later on trouble arose on account of the aggressive policy of Russia in the neighbourhood of the Caspian and the Black Seas and her interference in the affairs of Poland, which led to its partition in 1772. The patriotic Poles appealed to the Sultán for aid. This caused much anxiety in Constantinople. In 1768 war was declared and the Russian representative at the Porte was imprisoned. The war went on for some years and was unfavourable to the Turks. Under the weak 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd I (1773-89) matters grew worse. He had been

confined by his brother Sultán Muştafá III in the harem for forty-three years, and now passed from the monotony of a royal prison to the care and anxieties of the throne. Naturally he proved to be an incapable ruler. The financial position of the empire was bad and the troops did not receive the large donations usually given to them on the accession of a new sovereign; consequently they became demoralized. Under these circumstances the Turks were compelled to accept the terms laid down in the treaty of Kaynarji in 1774. No previous Sultán had ever been asked to accept such onerous terms, and this treaty shows how great a step had been taken towards the dissolution of the Ottoman empire. By it the Crimea was declared independent under its own Khán. Moldavia and Wallachia were restored to Turkey, but, as they were now formally under the protection of Russia, they were practically semi-independent states. Greek traders were permitted to sail under the protection of the Russian flag, which was an important step in the development of the spirit of independence now arising in that long subjugated land.¹ Turkey also had to pay a large war indemnity and by article vii of the treaty the Sublime Porte undertook 'to protect the

¹ For other commercial results which followed from this treaty, see *Odysseus, Turkey in Europe*, pp. 312-3; and for its general terms, see *Creasy, History of the Ottoman Turks*, vol. ii, pp. 257-62.

Christian religion and its churches' and conceded to the Minister of Russia the specific right to 'make representations in favour of the new church', which under article xiv of the same treaty, the Russian government was empowered to build. 'This article is of great historical importance, as forming the basis of the later claim of Russia to possess by treaty the right to protect the orthodox subjects of the Porte.'¹

A grandson of the empress Catherine was named Constantine, and on a gate in Moscow the words 'The way to Constantinople' were written. These things indicated the policy of Russia which soon began to take a practical turn. In 1779 a Russian nominee was accepted as Khán of the Crimea and in 1783 Russia annexed that province and has retained it ever since. In 1786 Catherine made a triumphal progress in the Crimea.

All this roused the Turks to action, and in 1788 war was again declared and was conducted with very much savagery on both sides. The Russian successes so affeted Sultán 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd I that he died.

His successor, Salím III (1789-1807), wished to carry on the war more strenuously but, as his generals were incompetent and his troops in bad humour, disaster after disaster followed. Further

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica* (ed. xi), vol. xxvi, p. 454.

opposition was useless and the treaty of Jassy was signed in 1792, by which the river Dniester was made the frontier in Europe and Belgrade was restored to the Turks.

This peace did not, however, restore order in the Turkish empire, and so great was the disorganization that the Serbs saw in it an opportunity for regaining some of their lost liberty. The Dahias, or four chieftains of the Janissaries, had rebelled against the Sultán and established themselves in Serbia, where they did as they pleased and oppressed the people.¹ The Serbs in 1804 elected George Petrovitch, better known as Kárágeorge (Black George),² commander-in-chief. He had passed an adventurous youth as a soldier, and as a leader of brigands. He was a man of simple habits of life, bold and brave, just suited to the work in hand.³ The Dahias were defeated and beheaded. The Sultán now hoped that Serbia would remain loyal to him, but the Turks were soon driven out of the country and in 1807 the Sultán offered to grant Serbia self-government with Kárágeorge as ruler; but Serbia declined all terms and allied itself with

¹ For a good account of these men, see Miller, *The Balkan States*, pp. 308-9.

² He received the nicknames of Tsrni Dyordye from the Serbs, and of Kárágeorge from the Turks, on account of his dark complexion and his gloomy, taciturn temper and disposition.

³ See Miller, *The Balkan States*, pp. 311-2.

Russia in war upon Turkey. Russia hastily made the treaty of Bucharest (1812), but entirely failed to secure proper terms for Serbia, her faithful ally. The Turks were now set free, and, on the refusal of the Serbs to lay down their arms as a preliminary of peace, they invaded Serbia. Kárágeorge and most of the leading men found safety in flight to Hungary. Two years after, the Serbs under Milosh Obrónovitch rose in rebellion and so far succeeded that in 1817 Serbia regained its autonomy under the suzerainty of the Sultán, and Milosh was declared hereditary prince of the country. In 1817 Kárágeorge suddenly returned to Serbia. Whether he hoped to again place himself at the head of affairs, or was sent by the Greeks to stir up Serbia to a war with Turkey is not known. Anyhow the Turkish Pasha at Belgrade demanded that he should be delivered up. He was murdered in his sleep and his head was sent to Belgrade for transmission to Constantinople. He was ruthless in many ways, but few men could have led undisciplined and badly-armed peasants to victory as he did. He is one of the national heroes of the Serbs, a fact which they recognized in 1842 by appointing his son, Alexander, as Prince of Serbia and in 1903 his grandson, Peter Kárágeorgevich, to the same dignity. The autonomy granted in 1817 was confirmed by the treaty of Adrianople in 1839. It was not, however, until 1867 that all the Turkish

garrisons were withdrawn. By the treaty of Berlin (1878) Serbia became an independent kingdom, after long centuries of servitude. Since then the Serbs have made great progress and have won renown as bold and successful warriors.

After this digression we must now return to affairs in Turkey. Salim III soon saw that administrative reforms were most urgently called for, and that an improved army system was absolutely needed. Everywhere disorder prevailed. The local governors oppressed the people and did as they pleased. They opposed all attempts at reform. The Sultán formed a new body of troops, called the Nizám-i-Jedid, properly drilled and trained. Military schools under European instructors were established and the navy was improved. The Janissaries objected to the whole scheme and supported the officials in their opposition to reforms, both civil and military. They demanded the abolition of the new troops and their combined influence was strong enough to enable them to dethrone the Sultán and to proclaim his nephew as the new ruler under the title of Muşţafá IV (1807-8).

Meanwhile there were troubles in Serbia due to the lawless conduct of the Janissaries. As we have seen the Serbs under Kárágeorge, rose in rebellion defeated the Janissaries and captured Belgrade. Muşţafá IV was not strong enough to carry out his father's plans. The reforms which had been made

were abolished, and all who had been concerned in them had to flee from the fury of the Janissaries. The Pasha of Rustchuk responded to the call of the men who had been in sympathy with Salím's plans and marched on Constantinople in order to restore Salím; but before he could reach that city Salím had been killed and Muştafá put to death.

Maḥmúd II (1808-39) was in many ways a strong though despotic ruler. He came to the throne at a period of great unrest, and, though his methods are open to much criticism, it must be admitted that he tried to introduce some reforms into the administration. The decadence of the Ottoman empire had now reached an acute stage. The central power was weak, the provinces were in revolt, the Janissaries could not be controlled, and some of the great Pashas were practically independent rulers. Until now the subject races, though restive and ready at times to help the enemies of the empire, had never risen to achieve their own independence. They had been crushed by centuries of despotism, and weakened by the tribute of their children for the corps of the Janissaries. This had now ceased and, as the flower of provincial youth grew up into manhood, and retained their religion and their national aspirations, the weakness and submissiveness of the people in the country districts passed away, and a new spirit came upon the subject races so long cowed and oppressed. Some of the peoples in the remote and

mountainous regions had never really been conquered. The brave Montenegrins were an example of what a small but bold community could do. All this showed the Sultán that he must grasp the reins of government more firmly. This he proceeded to attempt.

The Sultán, feeling that his control over the great Pashas was insufficient, now determined upon a policy of centralization. In order to do this, it was necessary to reduce the power of the local governors who, in many cases, were practically independent of the central government of Constantinople. The Derebeys held their lands on a feudal tenure and defied the Sultán's authority. They were often guilty of extortion from the people over whom they ruled, but still they were men who came from the local families, and they accepted the position of protectors of the people from outside rapacity. It is doubtful whether the rule of officials sent from Constantinople, who often paid large sums for their appointments, was any real improvement in administration, or any greater benefit to the people. If the Derebeys exacted money, they spent it in the locality, and the province as a whole became no poorer. The peasant, when in want, found a chief willing to assist him and so Bey and peasant got along fairly well. Maḥmúd changed all this, resumed the fiefs his predecessors had granted and so destroyed the landed gentry. Possibly it was desirable to exercise

more central control, but the change needed to be brought about gradually and cautiously.

One of the greatest of these governors was 'Alí Pasha of Janina, who was practically independent in Albania and paid little attention to orders from Constantinople, and yet he kept his district in order and the Greeks quiet. He was slain in 1820. The people liked their local rulers and did not approve of the corrupt officials sent from Constantinople. If they were to be fleeced, they preferred that men whom they knew should do it—men who would take care that no one else should injure them.

Maḥmúd also realized that he must introduce reforms into the military administration and become independent of the Janissaries, now nominally a force of 135,000 men. In 1825 he formed a body of regular troops called the Eshkenjis, and procured from the Shaikhu'l-Islám a fatvá to the effect that it was quite lawful, and indeed a duty, for Muslims to accept military service. The Janissaries, jealous of their position and power, rose in revolt; but Maḥmúd was prepared for it. For years he had been maturing his plans and in 1826 he struck the blow. The rebellious troops met in the At-Maidan, overturned the caldrons of the various regiments, a signal of rebellion, attacked the house of their Aga, who had agreed to the formation of the new troops, and set about pillaging the city. The 'Ulamá' had stated that it was lawful to oppose and

slay violent men, so the law was on the side of the Sultán. War was declared and the sacred standard of the Prophet was unfurled; but a more effective step was the presence of the large body of troops, supported by artillery, which marched to the At-Maidan. The Janissaries were asked to lay down their arms. This they refused to do. The order to fire was then given to the artillery gunners, the barracks of the Janissaries were set on fire and large numbers were slain. Of the few who survived the conflict some were afterwards executed, and others were sent to the galleys. Thus perished this famous corps which had won in earlier days so many victories for the Ottoman arms; but had now degenerated into an idle turbulent mob. When the Janissaries had been thus disposed of, the new army on the European model was formed, in the training and disciplining of which the Sultán himself took a practical part. Still the loss of an old army before a new one came into efficient being was a danger, for trouble was at hand.

The Greek agitation for freedom now assumed larger proportions. It was no new idea. As far back as 1780 the Society of Friends (*Εταιρία τῶν φιλικῶν*) had been formed and pursued its proselytizing course. Other literary and patriotic societies came into existence. There was a great revival of literary activity and Greek schools were founded in large numbers. The Hetairia now became a real

source of danger and the suppression of 'Alí Pasha made its work easier. The Greek insurrection had broken out in 1821 but was put down with much severity.¹ The Patriarch, Gregorius, was executed. This was a wanton and foolish act of revenge. It was deeply resented in Russia, whose ambassador was recalled. The Greek question caused much trouble to the leading European Powers and gave rise to many diplomatic conversations. Then in 1825 England recognized Greece as a belligerent state; whereupon Russia, fearing she might lose her position as a champion of the Greeks, suggested a joint intervention of the Powers. This came to nothing. The Sultán then determined to make a supreme effort to subdue the rebellion. He sent to Egypt and called in the aid of Muḥammad 'Alí, Governor of Egypt, who, as the reward for his services, was to receive the island of Crete and the control over Damascus and Syria. The result was the complete conquest of Greece, the occupation of Athens, and the deportation to Cairo of two thousand Greek captives as slaves. This roused considerable feeling against the Turks, but before anything effective was done, Russia had her own grievances to settle. The Porte resented all this outburst of feeling and interference, but was too weak to resist

¹ For a full account of this insurrection, see *The Encyclopædia Britannica* (ed. xi), vol. xii, pp. 493-5.

the demands made upon her. The new army was not ready and so the Sultán was obliged to agree to the treaty of Akkerman (1826) in which, amongst other things, the autonomy of Serbia was recognized.

In the political world further steps were then taken with regard to Greece, and the Russian susceptibilities were mollified by a request from Great Britain to join in mutual representations to the Porte. Austria and Prussia objected to any pressure being brought to bear upon the Sultán and so the treaty of London (1827) was signed only by Russia, Great Britain and France. The object of the treaty was to secure the autonomy of Greece under the suzerainty of the Sultán. Pending the settlement of the question Greece accepted an armistice, but Ibráhím Pasha, the Egyptian commander, declined to do so without orders from the Sultán. However, he agreed to detain his ships in the harbour at Navarino. Ibráhím having heard that some Greeks had attacked Turkish ships set sail, but was met by the allied fleets and compelled to return. An accidental encounter led to a general naval battle and to the entire destruction of the Turkish and Egyptian fleets at Navarino on October 20, 1827. The Egyptian army was expelled from the Morea. The Sultán was naturally deeply incensed and a war with Russia ensued (1828-9). It was concluded by the treaty of Adrianople (1829) by which Greece was made a tributary state,

governed by a prince selected by the Powers, and the Danubian principalities became practically independent states. On February 3, 1830, a protocol was signed by the terms of which the suzerainty of the Sultán was abolished and Greece became an independent kingdom. Victor Berard¹ in an eloquent passage describes how Greece, having survived through long ages in spite of many foes now came to her own again. In the past Persians had invaded and Rome had possessed her. Hordes of barbarians ravaged and the Latins conquered her. Norman soldiers, Turkish janissaries, Arab corsairs, Venetian condottieri succeeded each other, to her loss, and then passed away. Turks, Bulgarians, Austrians had tried but could not destroy the indomitable Grecian spirit which had survived all these centuries of disaster and oppression.

Maḥmúd felt the loss of Greece intensely, but now another calamity was about to happen. Muḥammad 'Alí, Governor of Egypt, the most powerful of all the Sultán's vassals determined to claim his independence.² He asserted that before a stable government could be established in Egypt, it must be free from the control of Pashas sent from Constantinople. This was sound policy and though there is much

¹ See *La Turquie*, p. 350.

² For a good account of the early history of this remarkable man and of his character, see Cameron, *Egypt in the Nineteenth Century*, chapters iv, and xix.

that is blameworthy in the character and actions of Muḥammad 'Alí, he deserves credit for his accurate perception of the needs of the situation and his skill in meeting them. On November 1, 1831, Muḥammad 'Alí invaded Syria. He had been promised the Pashaliks of Syria and Damascus for help rendered in Greece. He now said that he wished to take possession of them. For a time the danger was averted, but in 1839 the Sultán could restrain himself no longer, and against the advice of his ministers and of the Powers determined to punish his rebellious vassal. His army suffered a great defeat by an Egyptian army under Ibráhím, a son of Muḥammad 'Alí. The news reached the Sultán just before his death. In the treaty of 1841 Muḥammad 'Alí was confirmed in his possessions under the suzerainty of the Sultán, and Egypt commenced a new career which resulted in her eventually becoming independent of Turkish control.

Maḥmúd reigned for thirty years, during which time he was involved in many wars and had to give up valuable possessions. Greece, Egypt, Algiers were lost to the empire. The principalities on the Danube were no longer under the Sultán's control. Russia gained many advantages, and the interference of the Powers in the affairs of Turkey took a new shape and assumed a more persistent character.

Maḥmúd doubtless made mistakes, but he should be given credit for a worthy attempt to reform the

administration. The following comment on his work is sound and judicious :—

Now Sultán Maḥmúd possessed in an eminent degree the destructive qualities of a Turk and a Musalmán. Without being bound in his private conduct by the rules of the Qur'án, he was in temper and policy a despot and a Caliph. . . . He is by no means deficient in the natural qualities of judgement and resolution. . . but what is to be expected of a sovereign, who from the time of his accession, has made it the principle of his government to preserve order and power by ruining abruptly, or cutting off invidiously not the turbulent alone and the aspiring officers of the Janissaries, but every distinguished candidate for the honours of the state. His reign of more than thirty years was marked by disastrous wars and compulsory cessions. Greece, Egypt and Algiers escaped from his grasp. On the other hand, when he had crushed the mutinous Janissaries, he introduced a system of reforms—to form a regular army in the place of a fanatical factious militia. . . . It is easy to look back now with a pitying smile over the failures, the broken vows, the paper constitutions, of half a century of Ottoman history, and to wonder why people expected so much of Maḥmúd's reforms, why men hoped for the regeneration of 'the unspeakable Turk'—aye and continued to hope for many years after the reforming Sultán had been laid in his grave ; but at the time there was something touching in the strong, ignorant man's struggle against the corruptions of his empire—his blind feeling after the best means to raise his country to the level of a European state. We do not imagine him an ideal reformer, a man of broad views, and the wisdom that comes from ripe study ; his mind was built in a narrow and unbending mould, and he did not dream of such a regeneration of Turkey as Canning afterwards attempted. But he saw the first obvious necessities of government, and he made unhesitatingly in their

direction. He knew that a strong ruler upheld by a loyal and disciplined army alone could rescue the empire and stem the tide of corruption and foreign aggrandizement.

It was a brave effort, and the more astonishing since it was made in solitude and isolation. No one prompted Maḥmūd, no one can be pointed out as having prominently and voluntarily assisted him; what help he had he commanded and he rewarded. It was his misfortune as well as his glory to be before his age, to attempt reform, however crude and elementary, at a time when no one understood the necessity or believed in the policy.¹

'Abdu'l-Mejid (1839-61), son of the late Sulṭán, succeeded him. Fourteen years of peace followed which allowed time for the further prosecution of the reforms which Maḥmūd had set on foot; but the new Sulṭán, an amiable man, was not strong enough to deal with the difficult position and the many complicated questions which confronted him. Stratford Canning thus sums up his character:—

The graciousness of his manner, and the intelligent, though gentle and even melancholy, expression of his countenance, warrant a hope, perhaps a sanguine one, that with riper years and more experienced judgement he may prove a real blessing and a source of strength to his country.²

This sanguine hope was not fulfilled. Still progress in reform was made, but it was due to the untiring energy and tactful determination of the British Ambassador at the Porte, Sir Stratford

¹ S. Lane-Poole, *Life of the Rt. Hon. Stratford Canning* (London, 1888), vol. i, pp. 399-400, 503; vol. ii, pp. 72-3.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 81.

Canning, who from 1842 occupied a position of supreme importance. He saw that, if Turkey was to be saved, it must be from within and he eagerly supported the men who, like that enlightened statesman Rashîd Pasha, knowing something of western civilization, saw that the old position of isolation and contempt for things new must pass away. Though opposed by the more conservative party in the state, he was yet recognized as a true friend. His personal character was high, his insight keen, his judgement accurate. He rightly earned the title of the Great Elchi (Ambassador). The following statement gives us the key to his success :—

Truthful and straightforward in all his ways, he never condescended to the tricks of diplomacy, and the Turks soon began to perceive that what Canning spoke was the truth. Gifted, moreover, with a sedate gravity which gave dignity and importance to the smallest negotiations—and which was the more valuable because men knew that beneath the calm and polished surface lay an impetuous, passionate spirit, impatient of restraint—the manner of the great Elchi was full of charm and persuasion. . . . The Turkish Ministers and the Sultân himself bowed themselves down before his righteous indignation. By force of character, by a certain admirable violence, necessary in dealing with dilatory and prevaricating people, by a kingly grace and courtesy which stamped him as a gentleman of the true sort, but above all by a manly unswerving honesty and straightforwardness, Stratford Canning acquired that extraordinary influence which no Christian has exercised before

or since over the princes and statesmen of the Ottoman empire.¹

Before Canning's return to Constantinople, Rashíd Pasha, however, had persuaded the young Sultán, soon after his accession, to promulgate the Tanzímát, or Hatt-i-Sharíf of Gulhané. Its provisions were good—the restraint of the use of arbitrary power by state officials; security for life and property; the equality of subjects of all races and creeds before the law. The latter clause was quite unexpected. The non-Muslim subjects of Turkey had ever been kept in a condition of servitude, protected as tax payers to keep up and support a dominant ruling class. Sultán Ibráhím in 1644 had desired to ameliorate their condition, but was opposed by the Shaikhu'l-Islám. Muştafá Kuprili, the able Vizier (1689–91) of Suleymán II did something to improve their position; but the constant wars with Russia, Serbia and other nations stimulated afresh the feeling of resentment towards the Rayas, as the Christian subjects of the Porte are called.

The Tanzímát was premature. It was not favourably received by the ruling class. Rashíd Pasha had to resign his office of Vizier and a strong reaction set in. Then came Stratford Canning, and year in and year out he laboured unceasingly for justice to the Rayas, and against all injustice and corruption in the administration in all

¹ S. Lane-Poole, *Turkey*, pp. 351–2.

departments of the state. After a few years he succeeded in obtaining the re-appointment of Rashíd Pasha, and then he made some progress. His cardinal policy was that there should be equal citizenship for all. This was then a novel doctrine in Turkey, and men were surprised when in 1844 he secured from the Sultán a promise that torture should be abolished, obnoxious taxes repealed, and last and greatest of all an order that apostates from Islám to Christianity should not be put to death,¹ and other concessions.

¹ The teaching of the Qur'án on the subject of apostasy is not very clear. There are two verses which may be quoted as having, perhaps, an indirect bearing on the subject. 'For this cause have we ordained to the children of Israel that he who slayeth any one, unless it be a person guilty of slaughter or of spreading disorder in the land, shall be as though he had slain all mankind' [Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 35]. Apostasy may be brought under 'spreading disorder'. Baiḍáwí explains these words as 'polytheism and idolatry' (الشرك وقطع الطريق). Another verse is: 'As to those who return to their errors after the guidance hath been made plain to them. Satan shall beguile them . . . the angels in causing them to die, shall smite them on the face and back' [Súratu Muḥammad (xlvii) 27, 29]. The immediate reference is to those who were reluctant to follow the standard of the Prophet in his early wars; but Muslim jurists often make such limited judgements of universal application. Still, even then the punishment decreed seems to be in a future life. However, all this matters little, as Muslim law depends on the Sunna as well as on the Qur'án, and the Traditions are clear on the subject. The law as it now stands is that apostates are outlaws, and a person who kills an outlaw would not be liable to punishment under the law of Islám. See Mr. Justice 'Abdu'r-Raḥím, *Muḥammadan Jurisprudence* (Madras, 1911), p. 253.

It was one thing to get an order passed or a promise made and quite another to see the one obeyed or the other kept; but the watchful eye of the Ambassador was ever observant and no official was safe whose misdeeds were brought to his notice. The various proposals for the internal improvement of the administration made by Canning were considered by a Commission which sat at the Porte in 1848. The trouble involved in all this is best told by Canning's biographer:—

In December, 1848, a Commission sat at the Porte to take into consideration the various proposals which Canning had brought forward for the improvement of the internal administration. In August, 1850, Canning reported that 'nothing had occurred to enliven the prospect'. His advice had been uniform and consistent, but all the fruits were 'delays and evasions, unnecessary compromises, and weak compliances'; corrupt practices in office, a low revenue, high prices, a pernicious system of recruiting the army and a worse one of farming the taxes; discontent in the frontier provinces, and a fanatical spirit towards the Christians, who were massacred in several of the more remote districts; want of inland communications, and a weak state of the military defences—in short an alarming decrepitude in every department of the empire.¹

Whilst all this was going on two serious political troubles arose. A struggle for liberty in Hungary had been put down with much severity by Austria²

¹ S. Lane-Poole, *Life of the Rt. Hon. Stratford Canning*, vol. ii, pp. 207, 210.

² See Vanbëry, *Hungary*, ch. xv.

and Kossuth and other patriots found refuge in Turkey in 1849. The emperors of Austria and Russia demanded their extradition. The Turks refused to give them up and were supported by Sir Stratford Canning. It seemed as if war was imminent but the appearance of the French and English fleets at the Hellespont had the desired effect and nothing further happened.

The other affair, apparently insignificant in itself, led to more serious consequences. By an arrangement made between Sulţán Maĥmúd I and Louis XV of France, French pilgrims and those from other Christian nations had been placed under the protection of the king of France. After that time Russia had been persistent in her demands for the pilgrims and clergy of the Orthodox Church. The Latins and the orthodox monks had unseemly quarrels at Jerusalem which they might have been left to settle by themselves ; but the emperor Napoleon III, who disliked Russia,¹ made it an opportunity for seeking a quarrel with the Czar, and possibly for gaining the favour of the priests in France. He made demands which were offensive to Russia, and Turkey found it almost impossible to satisfy both parties. A compromise was suggested, but

¹ The emperor Nicholas opposed the first Napoleon's assumption of the title of emperor, and proposed a clause in the treaty of Paris (1814) which would exclude the dynasty of Napoleon from the throne of France. See Skrine, *Russia*, p. 149.

Russia claimed a protectorate over all Turkish subjects who belonged to the Orthodox Church. This could not be granted and so Russia declared war in 1853. England and France in 1854 joined Turkey and the Crimean war began.

It was ended by the treaty of Paris in 1856. By the terms of that treaty Russia abandoned her claim to exercise a protectorate over the Christians in Turkey and to an exclusive right of interference in the Danubian principalities. The contracting Powers agreed to guarantee the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire. The Sultán also reaffirmed in the *Hatt-i-Humayún* the principles of reform laid down in the *Tanzímát* of 1839. This new decree—the *Hatt-i-Humayún*—promising reforms in the administration and better treatment of the Christian subjects was embodied in the treaty of Paris (1856). The Turks, however, are past masters in the art of procrastination and this portion of the treaty has been described as ‘brave words and nothing more’.

In this imperial proclamation the Sultán announced his desire of renewing and enlarging the numerous improvements which had been introduced into his institutions, with a view to making them worthy of the place which his empire held among civilized nations; he was anxious, he said, to ensure the happiness of his people, who in his sight were all equal, and equally dear to him, and with this object

he first confirmed the former guarantees of the Hatt-i-Sharif of Gulhané to all his subjects, without distinction of class or religion, for their security in person, property and honour ; and at the same time renewed all the privileges and spiritual immunities granted *ab antiquo* and subsequently to Christian and other non-Musulman communities established in Turkey. The proclamation went on to enumerate various ecclesiastical privileges, guaranteed the free exercise of its religious rites and the control of its sacred and educational buildings to each and every sect ; and made the following announcement in bold terms :—

Every distinction or designation, tending to make any class whatever of the subjects of my empire inferior to another class on account of their religion, language or race, shall be for ever effaced.¹

But the treaty of Paris, while recognizing the importance of the measure, specially enacted that the recognition of the Hatt did not entitle any of the Powers, collectively or severally, to interfere in the internal affairs of the Ottoman empire. The qualification abrogated whatever effect the recognition might have had.²

Stratford Canning left Constantinople in 1858 and no one else possessed the same influence, or the power of making Turkish ministers realize that the safety of their country depended on internal reforms

¹ S. Lane-Poole, *Life of the Rt. Hon. Stratford Canning*, vol. ii, pp. 440-1.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 442.

and liberal measures for all classes of their subjects, so still more evil days were to befall the empire.

In June 1861 'Abdu'l-Mejíd was succeeded by his brother 'Abdu'l-'Azíz. Turkey was now admitted into the ranks of the great Powers, and the new Sultán, an ignorant and extravagant man, used the position to incur a heavy national debt which brought the country to the verge of bankruptcy.

There were troubles in Serbia owing to the continued presence of Turkish garrisons in that country ; but in 1867 they were withdrawn and thus one great step was gained towards full independence. A serious revolt also broke out in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1875 ; followed by one in Bulgaria in 1876. These were put down with such severity and barbarity that the sympathies of persons otherwise friendly were alienated. The Sultán's extravagance had depleted the treasury, and the strain on it owing to the military measures now taken caused the financial situation to collapse and Turkey became bankrupt.

Then a conspiracy was formed headed by Midhat Pasha to bring about a change. The Shaikhu'l-Islám issued a fatvá authorizing the deposition of 'Abdu'l-'Azíz.¹ This was done in 1876 and soon after the Sultán was found dead, it is said, killed by his own

¹ For a full description of the way in which this was done, see *The Life of Midhat Pasha*, pp. 83-6.

hand. His successor Murád V, a son of 'Abdu'l-Mejíd, reigned three months, when he was deposed as an imbecile. Then on August 31, 1876, 'Abdu'l-Hamíd II, a brother of Murád, ascended the throne and reigned until 1909.

The new Sultán like his predecessor was unwilling to carry out any practical measure of reform, and as years went on he exhibited a tyrannical spirit and took no pains to suppress the most barbarous treatment of his Christian subjects. At the commencement of his reign, however, he had to make a show of liberality, for soon after his accession a Conference of the Powers met at Constantinople, but its very moderate proposals were rejected by the Sultán, who on December 23, 1876, promulgated a constitution which had been prepared by the reforming party.¹ The Sultán never had any intention of allowing it to become operative. The formal proclamation

¹ The leader of this party was Midhat Pasha, then Grand Vizier. The new Sultán had made promises which raised the hopes of the reformers and now gave his somewhat qualified approval to the new constitution (*see The Life of Midhat Pasha*, pp. 128-30). If he had then followed the advice of his wiser councillors, the revolution which a few years ago led to his deposition might never have occurred. Midhat Pasha was banished soon after and finally tried on the charge of being accessory to the murder of 'Abdu'l-'Azíz though it was generally believed that the Sultán committed suicide (op. cit. pp. 90-1). Still Midhat was known to be an opponent of 'Abdu'l-Hamíd's autocratic rule and this charge was found sufficient to lead to his imprisonment and probably, to his subsequent assassination (op. cit. ch. xiii).

of it was a successful attempt to checkmate the Conference and nothing more.

Russia then declared war (April, 1877) which was concluded by the treaty of San Stefano, March 3, 1878. The terms of the treaty were considered to be too harsh and Russia consented to a revision of it and so it was abrogated by the treaty of Berlin, June, 1878. Even this revised treaty was a great blow to Turkey. Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania were formally declared independent. Austria occupied Bosnia and Herzgovina and, after some delays and a great deal of correspondence, Bulgaria was divided into two parts, one autonomous;¹ the other, Eastern Rumelia,² in 1885 was added to Bulgaria. In 1885, in response to a popular movement, the two provinces were united, and in 1909 the whole was recognized as an independent state, on the payment of an indemnity for railways and in lieu of the tribute previously paid to the Porte. Greece gained as accession of territory. England was in some ambiguous way pledged to see that reforms were

¹ Writing in 1900 Odysseus says: 'In agriculture, manufactures, commerce, education, literature and military matters they (the Bulgarians) have made enormous strides. It is only necessary to go westward from Turkey and cross the frontier to see what twenty years of autonomy have done.' *Turkey in Europe*, p. 351.

² This province remained subject to the authority of the Sultán, though it was placed under a Christian governor and an autonomous administration.

carried out, and with this in view took possession of the island of Cyprus, paying to the Sultán an annual tribute.¹

It is true that when peace was restored there was again some talk of reforms and a parliament was summoned; but it was soon dissolved and the constitution was suspended. No further attempts at reform were made, and whatever were the obligations England took upon herself after the treaty of Berlin, she never seems to have fulfilled them. In Armenia the barbarity of the Kurdish soldiers, known as the *Hamídián* cavalry, was so severe that the people rose in revolt, which was put down with great severity and the most horrible massacres, resulting in the death of 200,000 people.

Affairs in Crete also were so mismanaged that Greece began to take action which led to a war with Turkey in 1897. Europe intervened and Turkey gained some accession of territory and a war indemnity; but Crete, though nominally Turkish, was placed under Prince George of Greece, as High Commissioner, approved by the Powers. It has since been ceded to Greece.

The treaty of Berlin had left the Macedonian question in an unsettled condition. The Muslim

¹ Owing to the recent declaration of war with Turkey, by an Order in Council, dated November 3, 1914, Cyprus has been annexed to the British empire and the large annual payment as tribute to the Porte will cease.

and Christian inhabitants suffered from the incompetence and rapacity of the Turkish officials. They saw that the neighbouring states were now free and insurrections broke out. The Powers made various attempts to solve the difficult problems involved, but nothing satisfactory resulted. Thus the reign of 'Abdu'l-Hamíd proved a most disastrous one for Turkey. He strove hard to bring about the realization of the Pan-Islámic idea—the union of all Muslims under his leadership as Khalífa; the abolition of the capitulations (*ante* p. 61) and a revocation of all privileges previously granted to non-Muslim subjects of the Porte. He steadily set his face against all reform movements, and surrounded by a palace clique of favourites, centralized all authority in himself and seriously interfered with the administration of his ministers. In order to bring the Kurds under his personal control, he raised fifty-four squadrons of Kurdish nomads and called them the Hamídian cavalry. He used them to carry out his pitiless policy with the Armenians. In all this he was supported by his Vizier, Said Pasha, who, however, having offended his master was finally dismissed.

The next Vizier, Kiamil Pasha, was a wise ruler, and for some years the state of affairs improved; but, in due course, the dislike of the Sultán to anything like ministerial independence placed such obstacles in the way of the administration of the empire that

Kiamil resigned. Other more subservient ministers were found and the personal autocratic rule of the Sultán brought more disasters in its train. By means of his spies, he obtained information about his officials, and no honest independent man had any prospect of permanence in his office. Massacres in Constantinople and in Armenia, revolutions in Yemen and in Crete, troubles with the Druses and in the Balkans arising from unwise control—all these were among the incidents fast bringing Turkey to ruin. As for a government under such conditions, if it had been composed of the most capable statesmen who could have been found in Europe, its action would have been paralysed under such a régime. Every minister had under, or more correctly over, him a subordinate directly nominated by the palace. It was the business of the latter functionary to carry out the views prevailing at Yildiz Kiosk, with or without the approval of his superior, so that frequently, after orders had been sent out by a minister, instructions of a diametrically opposite kind were issued by his lieutenant. Among the offices within the palace the most important was the detective and espionage office. An enormous number of spies were employed. This system, inaugurated by 'Abdu'l-Hamíd, was one of the main causes of the unhappy state of the country under his rule. From the encouragement given to secret reports, whether false or true, no one was safe.

The emperor of Germany paid two visits to Constantinople, the second one being in 1898, and the result was the extension of German influence in that city, and also the securing of valuable railway concessions. A proposal that Turkey should join the Triple Alliance was not formally accepted, but the idea was latent and has now been brought into effect, curiously enough not by the followers of 'Abdu'l-Hamid, but by his enemies—the Young Turkey party. Then, as now, the wiser Turkish statesmen held aloof. Few Sultáns in the past have had the opportunities for good which lay before 'Abdu'l-Hamid at the time of his accession, and few amongst them could have so utterly failed. It was absolutely impossible that things could go on much longer in this hopeless way. A change was needed if the empire was to be saved.

Then came the revolution of 1908, brought about by the Young Turkey party. The revolt began on July 22, 1908, and on the following day in Salonica the Committee of Union and Progress proclaimed a new constitution. Two days after this the Sultán much against his will agreed to restore the constitution proposed by Midhat Pasha in 1876, and ordered the election of a Chamber of Deputies. Austria now became alarmed lest a reformed Turkey might require her to evacuate Bosnia and Herzegovina which she had occupied after the Berlin Congress in 1878. The matter was finally arranged

by Austria annexing these two states and by the payment to Turkey of £2,200,000 as compensation for the Turkish crown lands taken over in these two countries. How long the Bosnians will remain under alien Austrian rule, when they see the marvellous progress, which the other Slav states, now free, are making, is very doubtful. The result of the present (1914) great European war will probably lead to the transfer of these provinces to Serbia and Montenegro.

A counter revolution, connived at by the Sultán, was organized, but the army under Enver Bey marched to Constantinople, deposed 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd, in 1909, and appointed in his place his brother under the title of Muḥammad V. Little is known of the new Sultán to whom no power is given. 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd is now confined as a state prisoner and has time to reflect on his many crimes and cruelties.

The advent of the Young Turkey party was hailed with much satisfaction by all the friends of Turkey. They saw in the proposed liberal institutions and promised reforms a prospect for the revival of the Ottoman empire. A prominent European statesman spoke of the movement as having but one end—the welfare of all Turkish subjects, and the orderly establishment of constitutional rule. The most recent events, however, show that such sanguine hopes were premature, for it is this very party, rash,

misguided and foolish, which has brought Turkey nearer to utter ruin than even the worst of her Sultáns has ever done.

The difficulties before the Young Turks were very great. They had to contend against the conservative religious spirit, which is not favourable to progressive ideas. Islám does not easily lend itself to essential modifications. These men, educated in Berlin and Paris, were looked upon as lax Muslims. Whether that was so or not, the suspicion was current and operative. Nationality and liberty (*watan* and *hurriyat*) were the watchwords of the new party; but the old Turk thinks less of the nation than of the religion and less of freedom than of submission. His glory is that he esteems Islám above all else and that as a Muslim he is greater than as a Turk. In addition to this there was the political position. In Arabia, Syria and Macedonia there was much popular discontent requiring strong but sympathetic treatment, for their grievances were very real. Every branch of the administration required re-organization and large sums of money before any one of them could be made even moderately efficient. The law had been codified, but was administered by men paid so badly that bribery was almost a necessity to them. Everywhere roads, bridges and public works were needed and the treasury was empty. The relations of Turkey with the great Powers called for much political sagacity

and this quality, as regards foreign affairs, does not seem to have been prominent amongst the leaders in the Committee of Union and Progress—that extraordinary power behind the throne, which compelled the government of the day to carry out the wishes of the Young Turks. In the place of the personal despotism of ‘Abdu’l-Hamîd we find the corporate despotism of a Committee, the constitution of which is known only to a few. One of the chief military leaders, Enver Bey, was educated in Berlin and is said to have married a German lady. Whether led by him or not, the fact remains that the Young Turks looked more to Germany than to the old friends of Turkey, England and France. They were annoyed because the Powers of the Triple Entente exercised some protection over Crete, and this was one among several causes which turned them towards the Triple Alliance. The history of the past should have shown them the unwisdom of taking sides in European politics, but the Turk has always found it hard to learn a lesson and has suffered in consequence. One result of this change of attitude was that France, hitherto the banker of Turkey, declined to lend more money.

Turkey is composed of many races, speaking many languages and professing various forms of religion. To rule equitably such a variety of races requires statesmanship of a high order, and an administration which will safeguard the rights of each community

and allow each to develop on its own lines. The Young Turks made a mistake in attempting to make Turkish the official language to be used in all departments, including that of public instruction throughout the empire. This at once raised up opposition in Syria where Arabic is the mother tongue and is looked upon by the Muslims there as a sacred language. The efforts made to substitute the Arabic character in which Turkish is written for the national ones in writing the various languages of the Turkish Balkan provinces was a mistake. It roused the national spirit in people longing to be free. It thus became perfectly clear that the new government meant to Ottomanise the whole country. Thus it is said :—

They wish Albanians, Armenians, Jews, Greeks, Arabs, Syrians, Kurds, and all the nationalities of Macedonia, to sink their respective national individualities into one single nationality—which shall have for its principal element the Young Turk himself—for choice speaking the Turkish language, and using the Arabic alphabet, the only form of writing in which the Turkish language is ever expressed. In this way alone do they perceive the possibility of making Turkey strong and powerful. And as they are at the present moment in control of the army through which the revolution was effected, they propose to use force to accomplish this purpose. Turkey once united, and her army reorgaized, then let those Balkan states which have been broken piecemeal from the Ottoman empire have a care. Let everybody have a care, for the Turk will then be as good as anybody else in Europe or Asia.¹

¹ Dr. Fraser, *Persia and Turkey in Revolt*, p. 433.

If the Turk had been popular that might have been done; but he is hated by the Muslim Arabs and mistrusted by the Christian rayas. The Young Turks were in this matter idealists, with a vision of one great united Ottoman community, in which Ottoman language, law, custom and policy should exist supreme. This showed serious lack of statesmanship and want of administrative experience. It brought its punishment, for this attempt to crush out national feelings and aspirations in the Balkans was the main cause of the recent Balkan war, so disastrous to Turkey.

Great attention was paid to the army, which was largely trained by German officers; but the lack of a supply of intelligent junior officers and incompetence in other departments connected with the army led to its defeat in the first great war it undertook. Still, after all, the Young Turks kept the state going, which considering how corrupt it had been under 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd was not an easy thing to do.

In November, 1911, Italy annexed Tripoli. Turkey refused to recognize this action and war was declared between the two countries. By the treaty of Lausanne, October, 1912, Turkey granted autonomy to Tripoli without officially recognising Italy's sovereignty. This curious method of saving the face of the Khalifa is shown in the following terms of the treaty :—

(i) Italy maintains absolutely the law which declared her full and entire sovereignty over Lybia, and, in consequence, denies any form of sovereignty there on the part of Turkey, whether open or disguised, nominal, effective, or partial. Nor does she consent to such sovereignty under the form of a territorial concession made to Turkey.

(ii) Turkey, on her side, neither impugns nor recognizes the sovereignty of Italy. She ignores it; and in that manner avoids offending against the letter of the Coran law which forbids the cession of lands of the Caliph to the infidel. Italy consents to forego the formal recognition by Turkey, and will be content with procuring a recognition of her new rights from the Powers.

It will be seen that the Sultán simply ignores the cession of territory. Italy accepts the position and does not demand any formal recognition of the occupation of Tripoli. All parties understand that Tripoli now belongs to Italy; but the face of the Khalífa had to be saved and this is the curious way of doing it.

In August, 1912, a massacre at Kotchana led to a strong protest from Bulgaria. The Balkan states—Bulgaria and Serbia—formed an alliance with Greece and required Turkey to carry out the long-promised and long-desired reforms in Macedonia. Turkey refused to do so and war broke out on October 8, 1912. By the treaty of London, May 30, 1913, many Turkish provinces passed to the allies, and the Ottoman possessions in Europe now consist only of Constantinople and the vilayet of Adrianople.

All her African possessions had been previously lost. The empire in Asia is still extensive and under good government might be made highly prosperous; but the records of the history of the Ottoman Turks for many past centuries affords little hope of such a result.

When the whole civilized world was struck with great horror at the barbarities of 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd, the Kaiser, for purely political purposes, condoned his brutalities, was his guest for four days, went out of his way to flatter him and thereby gained certain concessions, notably those in connexion with the Baghdad railway;¹ and now strange to say Germany retains her influence with the Turkish enemies of 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd. The result is that Turkey finds it difficult to get loans from France, except upon the most stringent conditions. France is therefore looked upon with disfavour; but France has no desire to find funds for Germans in Turkey to spend. England is the ally of France and so all her past good deeds are forgotten, British enterprises are treated with hostility, and no effort is made to retain even her regard. Germany has now more than recovered the position she held in 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd's time, and has drawn, at least, the Young Turkey Party towards the Triple Alliance. Austria practically stole the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but even that

¹ For an excellent account of this concession, see, Valentine Chirol, *The Middle Eastern Question*, chapters xviii, xix, xx.

offence is now condoned by the Young Turks, as she is the ally of Germany.

In the history of the Muslim world chauvinism has played a great part. The chauvinism of the Arabs ruined the Umayyad Khalifate; it worked evil in Muslim Spain; ¹ and now it is apparent in the Turkish army under the control of the Committee of Union and Progress. The influence of Germany has stimulated this spirit of chauvinism, of which she possesses so large a share; it has encouraged amongst the Young Turks an arrogant militarism which seeks to control the political destinies of the country. Thus gradually the gulf has widened between Turkey and her real friends—nations which in the Crimean war spent millions of money and gave up the lives of thousands of their heroic sons for the safety of Turkey; all this and many other kindly deeds are forgotten and Turkey, controlled by the Germanized military party, ranges itself on the side of the common enemies of her benefactors.

Thus, at last, unless the more sober-minded leaders, the real statesmen in Turkey, and the Sultán himself can control Enver Bey and his associates, now completely hypnotized by German wiles, the decay of Turkey, which has been going on as we have seen for centuries, will proceed at an accelerated pace.

¹ See Sell, *Muslim Conquests in Spain* (C.L.S.), p. 6.

On June 28, 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, and his wife were assassinated at Sarajevo in Bosnia. The Government of Austria-Hungary presented a note to Serbia on July 23, alleging that these murders were caused, or at least encouraged, by Serbian officers and officials. This note made demands on Serbia which no self-respecting independent kingdom could concede, and required a reply within forty-eight hours. Serbia replied conceding most of the Austrian demands, but objecting to some of the most extreme among them; whereupon on July 28 Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. Russia then mobilized a part of its army, and immediately Germany also mobilized and invaded French territory and declared war on Russia. On August 4, Germany violated the neutrality of Belgium which she had signed a treaty to protect, and Great Britain, after twelve hours' notice, declared war on Germany.

Soon after the war began, two German warships, the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, in order to avoid capture entered the Straits of the Dardenelles. According to international law, the Ottoman Government should have ordered them to go out of neutral waters within a reasonable time and, if they failed to do so, should have dismantled and interned them until the close of the war; after which they would have been returned to Germany. The Turkish

Government did nothing of the kind, but, on the pretence that it had purchased the ships from Germany, retained the German officers and crew in its own naval service. It further imported a large number of mechanics and quantities of warlike stores from Germany. The British naval instructors in the service of the Porte were superseded, and the whole naval administration passed into the hands of German officers, under the supreme control of Enver Bey, the Minister for War who, a Pole by extraction and a German by sympathy,¹ was the leader of the Turkish pro-German party. The British Government protested against this breach of neutrality, and the Grand Vizier again and again said that the Germans would be dismissed. There seems to be some reason to suppose that he was really anxious to avoid a rupture with Great Britain, but it is equally clear that the masterful spirit of Enver Bey dominated the government and that neither the Grand Vizier, nor the Minister of the Interior, nor even the Sultán himself, could withstand the imperious demands of the Minister for War and the Germans in Constantinople, who had practically become the dominant rulers of the city.

The war party proceeded to mobilize troops, to prepare for the invasion of Egypt, to bribe the Bedawín to warlike action, and to demand the

¹ Dillon, *A Scrap of Paper*, p. 68.

departure of British ships from Mohammerah, a Persian port over which the Turks had no authority. All the time the Grand Vizier protested that he desired peace and made many excuses about the delay in dismissing the officers and crews of the German ships. Then followed the detention of British merchant ships in Turkish waters, attempts to stir up disaffection in Persia, India, Egypt, and amongst the Sanúsís in Africa, violent attacks in Turkish newspapers, now subsidized by German gold, against England declaring that she was the enemy of Islám ; the abolition of the capitulations and the closing of foreign post offices, and numberless other acts of a highly provocative character.

The British Government was most patient and waited week after week for the dismissal of the Germans. It even, whilst protesting that the abolition of the capitulations, which were based on many ancient treaties, and could only be set aside by mutual consent, expressed its willingness, if the German officers and crews of the *Goeben* and *Breslau* were dismissed, to consider, with the allied Powers, the question of the capitulations, and with them to come to some arrangement and to withdraw their extra territorial jurisdiction, as soon as a scheme of judicial administration which would satisfy modern conditions was set up.

The subsidized Turkish papers gave the most misleading information, supplied from German

sources, about the progress of the war. People were led to believe that victory was certain to the Germans; which statements, combined with inflammatory articles against England, helped to draw the more thoughtless Turks to the side of Enver Bey and the war party. It was even said that the Kaiser had become a Muslim and was fighting for Islám against Russia.

It soon became clear that, notwithstanding the Grand Vizier's assurances to the contrary, the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, flying the Turkish flag, but manned by German crews and under the command of German officers, would enter the Black Sea. As a matter of fact, this did take place. Then, on October 29, 1914, Turkish torpedo-boats raided Odessa, sank a Russian gunboat and damaged French and Russian ships. The response to this unwarranted act of hostility was the withdrawal of the Russian Ambassador from Constantinople and the despatch of Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Minister, to the British Ambassador at Constantinople, of the following instructions:—

SIR EDWARD GREY to SIR L. MALLET

Foreign Office

October 30, 1914

In view of hostile acts that have been committed, the Russian Government have instructed the Russian Ambassador to leave Constantinople with all his staff.

Should His Excellency leave, you should yourself send in a note to the Sublime Porte to say that His Majesty's Government have learnt with the utmost surprise of the wanton attacks made upon open and undefended towns of a friendly country without any warning and without the slightest provocation, and that these acts constitute an unprecedented violation of the most ordinary rules of international law, usage, and comity. Russia has shown the utmost patience and forbearance in face of repeated violations of the rules of neutrality by Turkey, and in face of most provocative acts, amounting in reality to acts of hostility, and in this attitude of restraint her allies, Great Britain and France, have co-operated. It is evident that there is no chance of a return to a proper observance of neutrality so long as the German naval and military missions remain at Constantinople, and such a situation cannot be prolonged.

Unless, therefore, the Turkish Government will divest themselves of all responsibility for these unprovoked acts of hostility by dismissing the German military and naval missions, and fulfilling their often repeated promises about the German crews of the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, and will give you a satisfactory reply to this effect within twelve hours from the date of the delivery of the note, you should ask for your passports and leave Constantinople with the staff of the embassy.

On November 4, Tewfik Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador in London, applied for his passports and a state of war commenced.

A perusal of the White Book¹ from which the above facts are taken shows how patient the British

¹ *Miscellaneous No. 13* (1914) Correspondence Respecting Events leading to the Rupture of Relations with Turkey.

Government was under all the equivocations, delays and hostile actions. Until the very last the Ambassador hoped that the Grand Vizier would be able to control the fiery and ambitious Minister for War. Enver Bey, supported by his German friends, became the real ruler of Turkey. The Sultán and his Vizier, assuming that their expressions of a desire for peace were genuine, have proved themselves to be quite powerless. The history of the past shows that the Ottoman Empire prospered only when Sultán and Viziers were strong men; when they are weak and helpless disorder and anarchy must follow.

Turkey had received the most complete assurance of British friendship. Sir Edward Grey in his letter of August 18, 1914, states the case to the British Ambassador at the Porte thus:—

I told the Turkish Ambassador, who had expressed uneasiness as to our intentions towards Turkey, that Turkey would have nothing to fear from us, and that her integrity would be preserved in any conditions of peace which affected the Near East provided that she preserved a real neutrality during the war, made the *Breslau* and *Goeben* entirely Turkish by sending away the German crews of these vessels, and gave all ordinary facilities to British merchant vessels.

The time will come, if it has not already done so, when the more intelligent Turkish people will regret the culpable weakness of their government, for the loss to Turkey will be very great. The attempt of the war party to stir up a Jihád, or Holy War, has

utterly failed. Under no possible interpretation of Muḥammadan law could a Jihád in the present circumstances be proclaimed, nor could it possibly be made an obligatory duty (*farḍu'l-'ain*) on any Muslim to obey such a call to arms. In fact, the conduct of the Turkish Government has been condemned by all responsible rulers throughout the Islámic world, and the Muslim soldiers of Russia, France and England are fighting loyally and valiantly in defence of their respective empires. They, at least, have no desire to come under the despotic rule of the German military party, or to aid Turkey in her folly in so doing. It is a sad sight to good Muslims to see their Khalífa thus helpless in the hands of unwise and unpatriotic advisers.

One of the first results of the present war was that Egypt, which from the time of Salím, has been ruled by Turkey or has been under her suzerainty, became free from all Turkish control real or imaginary. We have seen how Muḥammad 'Alí became Viceroy of Egypt (*ante* p. 90), though compelled to pay a large annual tribute as a sign of the Sulṭán's suzerainty. In January, 1863, Ismá'il Pasha became Viceroy. He was an ambitious man and sought to weaken the ties which still bound Egypt to Turkey. The Sulṭán 'Abdu'l-'Azíz paid a visit to Cairo and as the result of the conferences then held, and aided by large bribes to the Grand Vizier, the Porte allowed the title of Khedive to be substituted for that of Viceroy. The

term Khedive means 'great prince', 'man of authority', and though as a title it is less dignified than that of Sultán, it is more honourable than that of Viceroy. At the same time the Porte allowed the hereditary succession from father to son in the Khedival dynasty, but in return for the concession raised the annual tribute from £400,000 to £750,000. From time to time there has been friction between the two countries and Turkey, as suzerain, has tried to claim power and influence which could not be accorded or allowed to her.

In a fit of madness the Khedive 'Abbás Hílme, now in Constantinople, has thrown in his lot with Enver Bey and the Germans, and has therefore forfeited all right to his rule in Egypt, of which country he thus declares himself the enemy. The British Government at once declared Egypt a British Protectorate and has appointed Prince Husain, an uncle of the late Khedive, as Sultán of Egypt under the suzerainty and the powerful protection of Great Britain. His Majesty King George V has sent him the following gracious and encouraging message :—

On the occasion of Your Highness entering on your high office, I desire to convey an expression of my most sincere friendship and an assurance of my unfailing support in safeguarding the integrity of Egypt and securing her future well-being and prosperity. Your Highness has been called upon to undertake the responsibilities of your high office at a grave crisis in the national life of Egypt.

I feel convinced that you will be able, with the co-operation of your Ministers and the protectorate of Great Britain, successfully to overcome all influences, which are seeking to destroy the independence of Egypt and the wealth, liberty and happiness of its people.

This important change in the relation of Egypt to Turkey has been well received by all classes of the Egyptian people. All connexion with Turkey now ceases, the Porte will have no further claim to the large annual tribute, and the Ottoman Sultáns will lose whatever dignity the office of suzerain of Egypt afforded them. Egypt will now be free to carry out many reforms, to the execution of which there have been many hindrances, and under its new Sultán will enter upon a period of real progress. The Germans have thus, though quite unwittingly, rendered a very real service to that wonderful land.

I have now traced the rise of a great empire from very small beginnings, and its gradual decline from a high position to its present almost hopeless condition. For a long while the Ottoman empire was a terror to south-eastern Europe; in more recent times it has been the despair of European statesmen. When its Sultáns led victorious armies and ravaged many lands, the empire maintained its military domination; when these Sultáns ceased to be leaders in warfare and spent their boyhood and early manhood in the secluded life of the harem they lost their virility and the empire became

weak. As a conquering people the Ottomans showed some measure of imperial strength; when the tide of conquest turned and the state required men of broader sympathies and more liberal vision—statesmen in the best sense of the term—their incapacity was revealed. Called upon to rule over nations of many races and creeds they sadly failed; granted an entrance into the circle of civilized and progressive states, when administrative ability and a readiness to adapt themselves to a changing order of things was demanded, they have failed in a still greater degree.

Turkey has survived longer than the vigorous Khalifates of Damascus and of Baghdad, longer even than the brilliant Khalifate in Spain; but it has not been able to keep its position amongst the progressive nations of the West. They have long since passed away; and the causes which led to the decadence and disappearance of these once mighty Khalifates are working slowly, but with equal certainty towards the complete dissolution of the Ottoman empire. Muslim states seem to be able to reach a certain standard of greatness; but there is something in their law and polity which places an effective barrier to a continued rise in the scale of national progress in its highest forms, and to a lasting prosperity. The reason for this is not far to seek. It lies in their contemptuous disregard of all non-Muslim peoples, and in the rigid character

of their sacred law. As expounded by its official interpreters that law is the most perfect the world has ever seen, and is therefore final. It thus becomes a great barrier to the highest development of a nation, which from its position in Europe is bound to hold intercourse and to have diplomatic, commercial and social relations with other nations, whose laws are more flexible and whose constitutions are progressive.

In these circumstances, a nation, dominated by laws and polity of this character, reaches a state which is like the association of sterility with vitality—the contact of the dead with the living. If Turkey is to have a future it must be in Asia and not in Europe, where it has for many years and in a multitude of ways proved a disastrous failure.

APPENDIX A

THE OTTOMAN SULTANS

NAME				DATE OF ACCESSION
'Uthmán I	...	...	...	1299
Orkhan	...	...	...	1326
Murád I	...	...	...	1359
Báyazíd I	...	...	...	1389
Interregnum	...	...	...	
Muḥammad I	...	...	...	1402
Murád II	...	...	...	1421
Muḥammad II, the Conqueror	...	...	...	1451
Báyazíd II	...	...	...	1481
Salím I	...	...	...	1512
Suleymán I, the Magnificent	...	...	...	1520
Salím II	...	...	...	1566
Murád III	...	...	...	1574
Muḥammad III	...	...	...	1595
Aḥmad I	...	...	...	1603
Muṣṭafá I	...	...	...	1617
'Uthmán II	...	...	...	1618
Murád IV	...	...	...	1623
Ibráhím	...	...	...	1640
Muḥammad IV	...	...	...	1648

NAME					DATE OF ACCESSION
Suleymán II	...	...	...	...	1687
Aḥmad II	...	...	...	...	1691
Muṣṭafá II	...	...	...	...	1695
Aḥmad III	...	...	...	...	1703
Maḥmúd I	...	...	...	...	1730
‘Uṭhmán III	...	...	...	...	1754
Muṣṭafá III	...	...	...	...	1757
‘Abdū’l-Ḥamíd I	...	...	...	...	1773
Salím III	...	...	...	...	1789
Muṣṭafá IV	...	...	...	...	1807
Maḥmúd II	...	...	...	...	1808
‘Abdu’l-Mejid	...	...	...	...	1839
‘Abdu’l-‘Azíz	...	...	...	...	1861
Murád V	...	...	...	...	1876
‘Abdu’l-Ḥamíd II	...	...	...	...	1876
Muḥammad V	...	...	...	...	1909

APPENDIX B

OTTOMAN SLAVERY AS AN IMPERIAL ASSET

THE practice of the 'Abbásid Khalífas, the Egyptian Mamlúk Sultáns, and the Muslim rulers in Spain followed the tendency of all oriental Governments, which rest on force, to rely on slaves brought from a distance or otherwise obtained. The Ottoman Sultáns developed this practice still further by levying a tribute of children from their Christian subjects, and thus they raised the whole system of slavery into an institution closely bound up with the military and civil administration of the empire, the prosperity of which was largely indebted to it. Sultán Muḥammad II, the Conqueror made this quite clear in these striking words: 'Our empire is the House of Islám, from father to son the lamp of our empire is kept bright with oil from the hearts of the infidels.'¹

Some slaves were captives made in war; some were purchased or received as gifts; but the majority when mere lads were forcibly taken from Christian homes. This inhuman custom set aside the finer instincts of human nature, took no heed of parental affection,

¹ Quoted in Lyber, *Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleymán* (Harvard, 1912), p. 64.

disregarded the breaking up of family life, and ignored the rights of parents to bring up their children in their own law and religion. The lads thus taken were brought up as Muslims, and kept in the status of slaves and were under the absolute control of the Sultán.

This tribute of young boys was raised chiefly in the Balkans and in this manner. The country was divided into districts, and a capable official was appointed to travel about in each district with instructions to send to Constantinople a fixed number of the most vigorous and promising of the youths he could find. He required the priest of a village to furnish him with a list of baptized lads, between the ages of twelve and twenty, from whom he selected the sturdiest and handsomest ones until the required number was made up.

On arrival at Constantinople they were carefully trained for the military or the civil service. They were taught to look up to the Sultán as their lord, who could promote them to great honour and grant them posts of distinction, should they show by their devotion to him that they were worthy of such treatment. An Italian writer,¹ who in the reign of Suleymán II visited Constantinople, tells us that they were entertained in a large and spacious building under the charge of eunuchs, and richly clothed. In due course they were appointed by the Sultán spahi-oghlans (cavalry subalterns) or even to higher ranks in the army, or became Janissaries or Kapurjis (wardens of the gate).

¹ Probably Benedetto Ramberli whose work was published in Venice in 1545. See Lyber, *Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleymán*, Appendix I.

This careful system of education and the glittering prospects held out to them soon made the lads forget the homes of their childhood and inspired them with personal devotion to the Sultán, who often found in them his best servants and most valiant soldiers. By their conversion to Islám they became naturalized subjects of a new nation, and members of a fresh social and religious system. Separated entirely from the faith and traditions of their forefathers they became inspired with a new spirit and entered cheerfully upon a fresh life. This large annual addition to the ranks of Islám increased the wealth and power of the state. Thus 'the oil from the hearts of the infidel' kept the lamp of empire burning and the empire became possessed of an asset of great value.

If we set aside all moral considerations, there is no doubt that for many centuries the system by its provision of warriors and efficient administrators was a real source of strength. It is true that the time came when the military section became turbulent and had to be suppressed, but for many centuries the Ottoman empire owed much of its prestige and power to men of Christian birth thus alienated from their kith and kin. The pure Turk is not, as a rule, a good administrator and some of the ablest servants of the State were renegades, or of non-Ottoman origin. Enver Bey is not a wise statesman, but he is a vigorous, masterful man and he is of Polish extraction.

Suleymán II was one of the greatest men the Turks have produced. He knew his people, and how dim the lamp of empire would become, unless fed with oil from

the heart of the infidel or, to drop the metaphor, how necessary it was, by some means or other, to strengthen the administration of the state by importing into its body politic men of a more virile character and of a more reliable disposition than the ordinary Turk. To gain and retain this valuable asset, the system of slavery which I have described became an important institution of the Ottoman empire.

APPENDIX C

OTTOMAN LITERATURE

THE Turks, at the outset of their career, were men of the sword rather than of the pen, and though they despised the Persians as a people less martial than themselves, they accepted entire their literary system and so based Ottoman literature upon a Persian model. A number of learned Şúfís had their home at Qonya, (Iconium) the capital of the Seljúks. The famous mystical poet, Jalálu'd-dín Rúmí, came there as a lad and soon became the most famous of them all. He is known throughout the East by his great work, the *Mathnavi*, on the form and style of which Ottoman poetry has been based. The style was simple, but in due time gave place to one in which 'curiosities of imagery gradually replaced the old straightforward speech'. Stanley Lane-Poole says: 'If we except the long narrative poems, the range of subjects sung by the muses of Persia and Turkey is very limited. Love, with its woes and joys, naturally and by right assumes the first place; then we have the charms of the spring-tide, the sweet song of the nightingale, the beauty of the flowers, and other delightful things of Nature, generally with the undertone of religious mysticism throughout. And that is well nigh all.'¹

¹ *Turkey*, p. 302.

The Ottoman poets of the early period showed no originality but simply copied and followed all they could find of excellence in the poetry of the Persians: 'The prose in its higher flights is generally bombastic, often involved, and like the poetry, bristles with equivokes and other verbal tricks, which though frequently ingenious, are more or less trivial and always give a forced and unnatural appearance to the style.'¹ In the reign of Sulţán Suleymán (1520-66) two poets, Fuzúlı and Báki, arose and introduced a new era. Fuzúlı was a writer of eminence. He still conforms to the Persian style, but is more original than any of his predecessors. Fifty years later Náfi of Erzerúm elaborated a style for himself, but being a satirist and having the imprudence to exercise his wit on men of influence he was executed by the order of Sulţán Murád IV. In each succeeding age authors in prose and poetry arose, some of whom were eminent, but the literature as a whole still remained under the domination of the Persian influence.

A change, however, has now come over it. It began in 1859 with a translation of some French poetry into Turkish, thus showing that good literature was to be found outside the world of Islám. In 1879 'Abdu'l-Haqq Aḥmad Beg published some poems in a simple style and according to Western forms. Others followed and a revolt from the long-established influence of Persian poetry commenced. 'Some thirty years ago a wonderful change began to come over Turkish literature, and this change has ever since been growing yearly

¹ S. Lane-Poole, *Turkey*, p. 303.

more and more marked, altering the whole tone and spirit, as well as the external form of Ottoman literary work. . . . The change is a result of the study of the French language and literature which has become general only within the last twenty years. Marvellous, indeed, have been its effects. In poetry likewise Western forms have well-nigh superseded the monorhythmic ghazals and qaṣidas of the olden time. Of course all these changes have not been effected without opposition; many Turks of the old school, admirers of the Persian style and haters of all things Western, opposed them bitterly, and some oppose them still; but the battle has virtually been fought, the victory won, and for good or ill Europe has conquered Asia, Paris has replaced Shíráz.¹

The new learning, full of western thought and ideas, has been an important factor in the formation of the Young Turkey Party. One of the best informed European students of Turkish literature, the late E. J. W. Gibb, saw clearly how its improvement would affect the whole position of affairs. He says: 'This period of twenty years (1859-79) is thus the turning-point in the evolution of the new civilization of Turkey; all that had gone before since the days of the martyred Salím has been leading up to the revolution now accomplished; what follows is its development.'² The repressive measures of the late Turkish Government sent into exile men whose mental horizon had thus widened, but the leaven was at work, the intellectual condition of the best men

¹ S. Lane-Poole, *Turkéký*, pp. 322-3.

² *History of Ottoman Poetry* (1907), vol. v, pp. 18-20.

was being profoundly changed, a high sense of duty was being created and a true patriotism was being formed. The exiles from amongst the literary men had to be joined during the last twenty years by men from the various professions, and some nobles, exiled by the jealousy and the fear of the palace clique, before any practical steps were taken to set aside the despotism of 'Abdu'l-Hamîd; but it must never be forgotten that the movement towards reform, which it was hoped the Young Turkey Party would bring about, owes not a little of its force to those learned authors, who in modern days have reconstructed the literature, widened its boundaries, and brought it into living contact with the West. Thus it seemed as if the 'new learning' would become a powerful force in the social emancipation, in the religious freedom, and in the political elevation of the Turkey of to-day. All these hopes and aspirations, however, have not been realized, for the Young Turks by their arrogant militarism have not only retarded the reform movement, but seem likely to bring about the ruin of the empire.

INDEX

- 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, 101, 122
- 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd I, 78, 80
- 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd II, 102, 105, 106, 107, 108, 115,
136
- 'Abdu'l-Mejíd, 93
- Adrianople, 11 ; treaty of, 18
- Aḥmad I, 68
- Aḥmad III, 78
- 'Alá'u'd-dín, 5, 6
- Andrea Doria, 57
- Angora, battle of, 2, 23
- Apostasy, 96

- Barbarossa, 49, 56, 57
- Báyazíd I, 12, 13, 20, 22, 23, 25
- Bosnia, 28, 39, 114
- Brankovich, George, 28

- Cantacuzemus (Emperor), 9, 10
- Carlowitz, treaty of, 76
- Catherine (Empress), 77, 80
- Chálderán, battle of, 48
- Chengiz Khán, 2
- Constantinople, 9 ; battle of, 33-7
- Corsairs, 49, 52, 57
- Crete, 104, 110
- Crimean war, 99

Egypt, 122, 123, 124
Enver Bey, 108, 110, 115, 117, 121
Ertoghul, 3

Feudal system, 43, 85

Germany, 110, 115, 117, 118
Golden Horde, 1
Greece, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91

Hatt-i-Humayún, 99
Hatt-i-Sharíf, 95, 100
Húlágú Khán, 1
Hungary, 28, 29, 30, 32, 39

Janissaries, 7, 8, 12, 85, 86, 92, 130
Jem, Prince, 45-7

Kaiser, 114, 119
Kárágeorge, 81, 82, 83
Kaynarji, treaty of, 79
Khedive, 122, 123
Kosovo, battle of, 15

Lausanne, treaty of, 112
Lepanto, battle of, 65
Literature (Ottoman), Appendix C
London, treaty of, 89, 111

Maḥmúd I, 78
Maḥmúd II, 71, 84, 85, 86, 90, 91, 92
Mamlúks, 2, 48
Midhat Pasha, 107

- Milosh Kobilovich, 13
Milosh Obronovitch, 81
Mohacs, battle of, 53
Mongols, 1, 2
Muḥammad I, 24, 26
Muḥammad II, 29, 31, 32, 37, 38, 41, 42, 44, 45,
49, 51, 129
Muḥammad III, 66, 67
Muḥammad IV, 73, 76
Muḥammad V, 91
Muḥammad 'Alí, 88, 90, 91
Murád I, 11, 12, 13, 15
Murád II, 27, 29, 39
Murád III, 65, 66
Murád IV, 69, 71, 78
Muṣṭafá I, 68
Muṣṭafá II, 77
Muṣṭafá III, 79
Muṣṭafá IV, 83

Navarino, battle of, 89
Nicopolis, battle of, 19

Orkhan, 1, 5, 6, 10, 11

Paris, treaty of, 99

Rhodes, 41, 51, 52, 58

Salím I, 47, 48, 50
Salím II, 64, 65
Salím III, 80, 83
San Stefano, treaty of, 103

- Scipio Cicala, 67, 68
Seljúks, 1, 3, 4
Serbia, 12, 14, 15, 28, 30, 31, 81, 82, 83, 103, 113,
116
Skanderbeg, 32, 39, 40
Sobieski, King of Poland, 72, 74, 75
Stephen, King of Serbia, 18, 19, 28
Stratford Canning, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 100
Suleymán I, 25
Suleymán II, 50, 54, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 130

Tanzimát, 95, 99
Tímúr, 20, 22, 23
Tripoli, 112, 113

'Uthmán, 3, 4, 5

Varna, battle of, 31
Vienna, first siege of, 55; second siege of, 73,
74, 75

Young Turkey Party, 107, 108, 114, 136
Young Turks, 109, 110, 111, 112, 115, 136

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For Bahá'u'lláh, we should readily recognize, has not only imbued mankind with a new and regenerating Spirit. He has not merely enunciated certain universal principles, or propounded a particular philosophy, however potent, sound and universal these may be. In addition to these, He, as well as "Abdul'l-Bahá after Him, have, unlike the Dispensations of the past, clearly and specifically laid down a set of Laws, established definite institutions, and provided for the essentials of a Divine Economy. These are destined to be a pattern for future society, a supreme instrument for the establishment of the Most Great Peace, and the one agency for the unification of the world, and the proclamation of the reign of righteousness and justice upon the earth.

Leaders of religion, exponents of political theories, governors of human institutions, who at present are witnessing with perplexity and dismay, the bankruptcy of their ideas, and the disintegration of their handiwork, would do well to turn their gaze to the Revelation of Bahá'u'lláh, and to meditate upon the World Order which, lying enshrined in His teachings, is slowly and imperceptibly rising amid the welter and chaos of present day civilisation. They need have no doubt or anxiety regarding the nature, the origin, or a validity of the institutions which the adherents of the Faith are building up throughout the world. For these lie imbedded in the teachings themselves, unadulterated and unobscured by unwarrantable inferences, or unauthorised interpretations of His Word.

Shoghi Effendi.

AIMS AND PURPOSES OF THE BAHA'I FAITH

A GENERATION before modern science and industry had forged strong links of physical unity between the nations, a movement based upon the spiritual principle of human oneness had been established in Persia and the Near East by Bahá'u'lláh, founder of the Bahá'í Faith. Considered by contemporary historians of Europe as merely a Movement confined to Muhammadanism, and eventually to subside after the manner of countless periodical reform programmes, the universal character of the Cause of Bahá'u'lláh has been gradually revealed throughout eighty years of bitter persecution, until today it enjoys the status of an independent religion throughout practically the entire Muslim world. Its vitality in Christian and other non-Muslim societies also serves to call attention to the fact that the Bahá'í teachings correspond to a fundamental need of humanity in the present era.

The aims and purposes of the Bahá'í Cause, students of the teachings point out, can never be fully understood merely by comparison with other religious or ethical systems in their present form. The unique contribution made by Bahá'u'lláh to the cause of world brotherhood and peace, according to His followers, consists in the fact that Bahá'u'lláh restored the spirit of religion at its very source.

His aim and purpose was not to remedy minor evils of modern society but to create a new and positive world outlook.

The Bahá'í teachings, in fact, are said to meet the needs of humanity today for the reason that Bahá'u'lláh stands in that line of mighty prophetic beings who alone have been able to see into the depths of the human heart and by the power of their lives and gospel supply a new impulse to civilisation as a whole. The Bahá'ís begin, therefore, by accepting the spiritual oneness of all the prophets and their mutual consecration to the same task of leading men from darkness to light. The fact that every civilisation has emanated from the sources of spiritual energy and knowledge revealed by a prophet, and that all the prophets came to the world at the hour when a once glorious civilisation was at the point of decay, is the proof offered by Bahá'ís to vindicate the supreme power of religion as manifested by its great Founders from age to age.

The mission of Bahá'u'lláh, likewise, His followers declare, was to renew man's faith in the universality of God at a time when unfaith and moral and political decadence are running their full course not in one part of the world, or among one race alone, but equally in East and West. The sign of decadence emphasized by the Bahá'ís is conflict and strife among human beings—religious strife, class strife and racial strife no less than military or economical conflict on international scale. That present-day civilisation, for all its mental activity and its scientific

marvels, cannot survive its own forces of disunity without reinforcement by a new, world-wide faith, expressive of a regenerated mankind and a higher type of social organism; is the Bahá'í claim in explaining the significance of this Cause.

From Bahá'u'lláh, the believers declare, has been reflected once more the rays of that Holy Spirit by which Christianity and other divinely revealed religions came into being to sustain the burden of a collapsing age. Partaking of this spiritual reality in the form of the inspired teachings of Bahá'u'lláh—man's privilege of approach to the will of God—the individual soul is healed of the disease of prejudice, fear and hate, and transformed from petty concerns and local loyalties into a consciousness of an underlying brotherhood swiftly replacing the antagonisms inherited from the dead past.

The wars and strifes shaking the world today, according to the Bahá'ís serve to awaken people to the unreality of manmade dogmas and creeds, the source of all antagonistic institutions and destructive customs, and quicken in them a hunger for a reality raised above human will in the realms of the divine. Thus the teachings of Bahá'u'lláh have spread not merely because they renew hope and inspire enthusiasm, but because also they uphold a world order as the end and aim of human evolution in this new age. The sciences and arts they bring back into the heart of human experience by showing them to be the true modes of religious worship; the functions of government are en-

nobled as the union of morality and social usefulness; and democracy is vitalised by the realisation that all men are children of the one God.

The Baha'i Principles

The public education which fills the mind with facts, however true and useful, but leaves old, destructive prejudices in the heart, must be augmented by the addition of spiritual principles, members of the Bahá'í Cause point out; if the peril of world failure through international war and class revolution is ever to be removed.

In the principles of individual and social regeneration laid down by Bahá'u'lláh over eighty years ago, this spiritual element, according to the Bahá'í, exists in a form so pure, so complete and so positively forceful that devoted groups of students assemble in cities and villages in Europe, the Orient and America at the present time for the sole purpose of reinforcing their intellectual education with the moral power and nobility emanating from the teachings of Bahá'u'lláh. American Bahá'ís who have travelled extensively and visited these groups in various parts of the world state that the result of this new spiritual knowledge has been to eliminate, among large numbers of believers, the evils of the caste system in India, religious prejudice in Persia and the Near East, racial and national antagonisms in Europe, while in the United States and Canada the Bahá'í teachings have been especially fruitful in removing prejudice between the white and coloured peoples.

To summarise and outline the spiritual verities revealed by Bahá'u'lláh one may begin by quoting the following words uttered by 'Abdu'l-Bahá' the great Exemplar of the Bahá'í Faith; "*This is a new cycle of human power. . . . The gift of God to this enlightened age is knowledge of the oneness of mankind and of the fundamental unity of religions.*"

The conviction that humanity has entered upon a new era, when the latent possibilities of men and women are to be fully expressed by the gradual developments of a world community reflecting the ideals of all the prophets; and the sciences and arts shall flower gloriously under the inspiration of mutual fellowship and trust; is a distinguishing characteristic of the Bahá'í message. Since every child is born without innate prejudice, the organised hates and fears of mankind are acquired from the attitude of those who control youth. By replacing the present mental environment with a psychology upholding the power of love, the Bahá'ís assert, a new generation will come into being free of the baneful influence of hostility and antagonism. The decisive point in spiritual education, according to followers of Bahá'u'lláh, consists in realising that the founders of all the revealed religions were actuated by the same purpose and reflected the same divine power. When agreement exists on this principle, the very roots of prejudice are destroyed, for aside from the influence of the prophets there is no social force able to overcome the animal status of man by connecting him with the providence of God.

Bahá'ís, therefore, practise the lesson of regarding all others, irrespective, of race, class, nation or creed, as expressions of the one creative, universal love. The teachings of Bahá'u'lláh reinforce this truth by proving from recorded history that faith in a prophet has ever produced the social community out of which nations and races are afterward derived, and that it is the inhumanity caused by religious hostility which later gives destructive force to national, racial and class divisions. A new and world wide spiritual movement is needed at this time, Bahá'ís believe, in order to give men the sense of community in obedience to the divine Will and raise them above the destructive darkness lingering in traditional views.

Upon the basis of this new and broader outlook, the teachings of Bahá'u'lláh raise a mighty edifice of social regeneration, the pillars of which are the following organic principles; the harmony of true science and religion; the spiritual equality of man and woman; the education of all people in terms of the complete personality—including adequate training in a trade or profession and moral culture, as well as mental discipline and knowledge; the continuance of education throughout life by unceasing open-minded search for truth; social responsibility for every individual's economic well-being; the addition of a universal secondary language to school curriculums; the spiritual obligation of every government to make world peace its first and most important concern; and the organisation of an international tribunal capable of maintaining world

order based upon equal justice to the various nations and peoples.

The Bahá'í teachings, it is said, differ from the liberal philosophies of the day by making personal development absolutely contingent upon social usefulness and co-operation. They meet the egoistic longing for an independent, individual "perfection" or "blessedness" by enunciating the sound psychological principle that, because all human beings are inter-dependent, fulfilment comes only to him who seeks satisfaction in mutual rather than selfish good. Bahá'u'lláh, His followers declare, has revived the teaching of love revealed by all the prophets, and supplemented this doctrine by new teachings which reveal the nature of the world order which humanity needs supremely at this time.

Outline of Baha'i History

The beginnings of the "modern" age—marked by industrialism in the West and the stirrings of political reform in the East—can be completely explained, according to followers of the Bahá'í Cause, only by reference to the spiritual enlightenment which dawned upon the world over eighty years ago through the universal message of Bahá'u'lláh. In this message, which Bahá'ís feel is only not being fully understood and appreciated, a programme for true human progress was laid down by which the aspirations and hopes of Christians, Jews and other religionists for world peace and righteousness will be vindicated and fulfilled.

The history of the Bahá'í Cause, its members assert, is the outward and visible evidence that humanity in this age has been stirred by a new spirit, the effect of which is to break the bonds and limitations of the past and remould the world in a universal civilization based upon knowledge of divine reality.

On May 23, 1844, a radiant youth of Persia known as the Báb ("The Gate") proclaimed His mission of heralding a mighty Educator who would quicken the souls, illumine the minds, harmonise the consciences and exalt the habits and customs of mankind. After six years of heroic steadfastness and ardent teaching, in the face of the combined opposition of Church and State in His native land, the Báb fell a victim of fanatical persecution and was publicly martyred by a military firing squad at Tabriz, Persia, July 9, 1850, leaving behind Him among the Persian people such loyalty and faith that thousands of His followers underwent martyrdom rather than recant and forsake their devotion to the Báb's assurance that the day of the Promised One had at last dawned.

Upon this preparation the foundation of the Cause was laid by Bahá'u'lláh ("Glory of God"), whose enlightened principles of personal and social regeneration were revealed under conditions of cruel oppression, extending through a period of more than forty years, unequalled in the annals of religion.

Bahá'u'lláh, a majestic personage whose greatness was felt and admitted even by His bitterest foes, gave the glad-

tidings to East and West, that the Holy Spirit was once again manifest in the image of man to revivify humanity in its hour of supreme need, that a new and greater cycle of human power had begun—the age of brotherhood of peace, of spiritual love. All peoples He summoned to partake of the knowledge of reality uttered through Him. The dire sufferings to fall upon mankind through international war and rebellious unrest until the lessons of unity had been learned, were clearly foretold. The message of Bahá'u'lláh was revealed in the form of books dictated to secretaries during days of exile and imprisonment, and in letters addressed to kings and rulers, and to the heads of religions, in Europe, the Orient and the United States.

As the desperate forces of reaction gathered against Him, the ecclesiastical and civil authorities of Persia realizing that their influence would be destroyed by the spread of the enlightened teachings of Bahá'u'lláh, He and His little band of faithful followers were imprisoned in Tihrán, stripped of property and rights, exiled to Baghdád; to Constantinople, to Adrianople, and at last, as the supreme infliction, in 1868, confined for life in the desolate barracks of Akká, a Turkish penal colony, near Mount Carmel in the Holy Land. Scarcely fifty years later, as the Bahá'ís point out, those responsible for the exile and imprisonment of Bahá'u'lláh—the Sháh of Persia, and the Sultán and Caliph in Constantinople—were themselves abjectly hurled from power.

Voluntarily sharing these ordeals from very childhood was the eldest son of Bahá'u'lláh, 'Abdu'l-Bahá ("Servant

of Bahá’), whose confinement at ‘Akká, lasting forty years, was terminated in 1908 by the Turkish Revolution initiated by the Young Turk Party.

Bahá’ulláh left th’s life in 1892. From then until His own ascension in 1921, ‘Abdul’l-Bahá served the Cause as its appointed Exemplar and Interpreter, and through His unique devotion, purity of life, tireless effort, and unfailing wisdom, the Bahá’í message slowly but surely penetrated to all parts of the world. To-day, Bahá’í centers exist in most countries, and the membership of the movement embraces practically every nationality, class and creed. At the present time the unity of the Bahá’ís and the integrity of the teachings of Bahá’u’lláh is maintained by Shoghi Effendi, grandson of ‘Abdu’l-Bahá and in His Will and Testament appointed Guardian of the Bahá’í Faith.

The Baha’i Teachings and Universal Peace

The secret of universal peace has not only been found but made to work in actual practice, followers of Bahá’ulláh assert, throughout a large and rapidly growing spiritual community with established centers in every part of the world. The universal peace obtaining among the Bahá’ís of the Orient, Europe and America, establishes the perfect model by which the various nations and peoples can raise the true world peace on enduring foundations. In the application of the principles enunciated by Bahá’u’lláh, world peace is reinforced by spiritual truths and given religious sanction without disregarding the part that must be played by political and economic considerations.

The Bahá'í Cause, in fact, made the question of peace the supreme issue more than sixty years ago, before the subject had been seriously considered by existing rulers and churches. In a series of letters addressed to kings and heads of government in Europe, Asia and the United States, written in 1868, 1869 and 1870 Bahá'u'lláh proclaimed that the era of international order had dawned, and called upon the reigning rulers to assemble and take steps to eliminate the possibilities of future war. He expressed the profound truth that service to the ideal of peace was not merely an attitude of political wisdom, but obedience to God, and continued irresponsibility and unfaithfulness to the right of the peoples to live in peace would produce international strife and anarchy so widespread that every reactionary régime would be destroyed.

Following in the footsteps of Bahá'u'lláh, his son 'Abdu'l-Bahá, Exemplar of the new Faith, consecrated his life to the ideal of unity, and from 1911 to 1913, on the eve of the great war, travelled throughout Europe and America in order to bring the principles of peace directly to the people. Speaking at Stanford University, California, in 1912, 'Abdul'l-Bahá definitely predicted the outbreak of international conflict in the imminent future, calling upon the American people to arise as pioneers of universal peace.

In the Bahá'í teachings, universal peace is far more than absence of military conflict. It embodies also peace between the religions, peace between the races and peace between the classes of mankind,. Universal peace, according to these teachings, can only come into being as the roots

of all antagonism, prejudice, strife and competition are removed from the hearts of men, and his transformation of attitude and action in turn depends upon devotion to the divine Will. The development of believers in so many parts of the world, who accept the equality and fundamental unity of all religions and races, stands as the most vital proof that the spirit of religion has been renewed in this age.

But the Bahá'í Cause represents far more than merely a new attitude of friendliness and amity among groups of people; it is pointed out by students of the teachings that Bahá'u'lláh also created an organic and structural unity capable of relating the religious and humanitarian activities of Bahá'ís throughout the world. The Bahá'í Cause is to-day functioning as a body in accordance with this organic unity, which co-ordinates local, national and international units in one harmonious whole. Stressing above all the spiritual character of this Cause, and its rigid and uncompromising insistence upon loyalty of all believers to their own government, the Bahá'í Cause at the same time provides order and purpose for that sphere of effort and action wherein all individuals are left legitimately free to co-operate with others for spiritual and ideal ends. A movement which can thus unify Christians, Muhammadans, Jews, Zoroastrians and other religionists—which in its own membership can subdue racial and class prejudice, and applies the principles of democracy to the election of local, national and international assemblies—is, its members live, a true application of the ideal of universal peace meriting the study of all who realise that peace cannot

be attained merely by treaty and pact between armed governments all subject to conflicting influences from their own citizens. The "moral equivalent" of a true League of Nations and a World Court, Bahá'ís point out, has been created by the power of love manifest in Bahá'u'lláh and made evident in teachings accepted as prophetic by His followers in all lands.

The warning uttered by 'Abdu'l-Bahá at Haifa in 1921, His last year on earth, was that class dissension would continue to develop in all countries, and become a sinister menace to civilisation, until the nations sincerely sought to establish universal peace. The Bahá'í peace programme was defined by 'Abdu'l-Bahá in a letter written to the members of the Central Organisation for a Durable Peace, The Hague, in 1919. Many years earlier He wrote the following significant words: *"True civilisation will unfurl its banner in the midmost heart of the world whenever a certain number of distinguished Sovereigns of lofty aims—the shining exemplars of devotion and determination—shall, for the good and happiness of all mankind, arise with a firm resolve and clear vision to establish the cause of Universal Peace. . . . The fundamental principle underlying this solemn Agreement should be so fixed that if one of the governments of the world should later violate any of its provisions, all the governments on earth would arise to reduce it to utter submission."*

PRINCIPLES OF ADMINISTRATION

IT has been the general characteristic of religion that organisation marks the interruption of the true spiritual influence and serves to prevent the original impulse from being carried into the world. The organisation has invariably become a substitute for religion rather than a method or an instrument used to give the religion effect. The separation of peoples into different traditions unbridged by any peaceful or constructive intercourse has made this inevitable. Up to the present time in fact, no Founder of a revealed religion has explicitly laid down the principles that should guide the administrative machinery of the Faith He has established.

In the Bahá'í Cause, the principles of world administration were expressed by Bahá'u'lláh, and these principles were developed in the writings of 'Adbu'l-Bahá, more especially in His *Will and Testament*.

The purpose of this organization is to make possible a true and lasting unity among people of different races, classes, interests, characters, and inherited creeds. A close and sympathetic study of this aspect of the Bahá'í Cause will show that the purpose and method of Bahá'í administration is so perfectly adapted to the fundamental spirit of the Revelation that it bears to it the same relationship as body to soul. In character, the principles of Bahá'í administration represent the science

of co-operation; in application, they provide for a new and higher type of morality world-wide in scope. In the clash and confusion of sectarian prejudice, the Bahá'í Movement is impartial and sympathetic, offering a foundation upon which reconciliation can be firmly based. Amid the complex inter-relations of governments, the Movement stands absolutely neutral as to political purposes and entirely obedient to all recognised authority. It will not be overlooked by the student that Bahá'u'lláh is the only religious teacher making obedience to just governments and rulers a definite spiritual command.

In this brief analysis of the several features of the Bahá'í system of administration the purpose is not only to place in the hands of the believers themselves a convenient summary of the available instructions but also to clarify this aspect of the Movement to the non-Bahá'í. After one has made contact with the spirit of the Bahá'í teachings and desires to co-operate whole-heartedly with their purpose, the administrative phase of the Movement reveals profound significance.

At the time of the passing of 'Abdu'l-Bahá, the organisation was fully defined but not yet established among His followers. The responsibility for carrying out the instructions was placed by 'Abdu'l-Bahá upon His grandson, Shoghi Effendi, to whom was assigned the function of "Guardian of the Cause." Obedience to the authority of the Guardian was definitely enjoined upon all Bahá'ís by 'Abdu'l-Bahá, but this authority carries with it nothing of an arbitrary or personal character, being limited as to

purpose and method by the writings of Bahá'u'lláh and 'Abdu'l-Bahá. The Guardian unifies the efforts to bring into complete application those principles of world administration already clearly defined.

To assist the Guardian in his manifold responsibilities and duties and particularly in the promotion of the teaching work, 'Abdu'l-Bahá provided for the appointment of a group of co-workers to be known as "The Hands of the Cause of God." The appointment of this body is a function of the Guardian, and these from their own number are to elect nine persons who will be closely associated with the Guardian in the discharge of his duties. It is the function of the Guardian also to appoint his own successor, this appointment to be ratified by the nine Hands of the Cause.

It is the genius of the Bahá'í Cause that the principle underlying the administration of its affairs aims to improve the life and upbuild the character of the individual believer in his own local community, wherever it may be, and not to enhance the prestige of those relatively few who, by election or appointment, hold positions of higher authority. Bahá'í authority is measured by self-sacrifice and not by arbitrary power. This fundamental aim can be seen clearly on studying the significant emphasis which 'Abdu'l-Bahá placed upon the local Bahá'í community. The local group, involving as it does men and women in all the normal activities and relations of life, is the foundation upon which rests the entire evolution of the Cause. The local Bahá'í community is given

official recognition only after its number of adult declared believers has become nine or more. Up to this point, the community exists as a voluntary group of workers and students of the Cause.

In this connection, the word "community" is not used in the sense of any locality, exclusively Bahá'í in membership, nor of any manner of living differing outwardly from the general environment, such as has been attempted by religionists and also members of philosophic and economic movements in the past. A Bahá'í community is a unity of minds and hearts, an association of people entirely voluntary in character, established upon a common experience of devotion to the universal aims of Bahá'u'lláh and agreement as to the methods by which these aims can be advanced.

A Bahá'í community differs from other voluntary gatherings in that its foundation is so deeply laid and broadly extended that it can include any sincere soul. Whereas other associations are exclusive, in effect if not in intention, and from method if not from ideal, Bahá'í association is inclusive, shutting the gates of fellowship to no sincere soul. In every gathering there is latent or developed some basis of selection. In religion this basis is a creed limited by the historical nature of its origin; in politics this is party or platform; in economics this is a mutual misfortune or mutual power; in the arts and sciences this basis consists of special training or activity or interest. In all these matters, the more exclusive the basis

of selection, the stronger the movement—a condition diametrically opposed to that existing in the Bahá'í Cause. Hence the Cause, for all its spirit of growth and progress, develops slowly as regards the numbers of its active adherents. For people are accustomed to exclusiveness and division in all affairs. The important sanctions have ever been warrants and justifications of division. To enter the Bahá'í Movement is to leave these sanctions behind an experience which at first invariably exposes one to new trials and sufferings, as the human ego revolts against the supreme sanction of universal love. The scientific must associate with the simple and unlearned; the rich with the poor, the white with the coloured, the mystic with the literalist, the Christian with the Jew, the Muslim with the Parsee; and on terms removing the advantage of long established presumptions and privileges.

But for this difficult experience there are glorious compensations. Let us remember that art grows sterile as it turns away from the common humanity, that philosophy likewise loses its vision when developed in solitude, and that politics and religion never succeed apart from the general needs of mankind. Human nature is not yet known, for we have all lived in a state of mental, moral, emotional or social defence, and the psychology of defence is the psychology of inhibition. But the love of God removes fear; the removal of fear establishes the latent powers, and association with others in spiritual love brings these powers into

vital, positive expression. A Bahá'í community is a gathering where this process can take place in this age, slowly at first, as the new impetus gathers* force, more rapidly as the members become conscious of the powers unfolding the flower of unity among men.

Where the community is small and insignificant, in comparison with the population of the city or town, the first condition of growth is understanding of the Manifestation of Bahá'u'lláh, and the next condition is that of true humility. If these two conditions exist, the weakest soul becomes endowed with effective power in service to the Cause. The result of unity, in fact, is to share the powers and faculties of all with each.

The responsibility for and supervision of local Bahá'í affairs is vested in a body known as the Spiritual Assembly. This body (limited to nine members) is elected annually on April 21st, the first day of Ridván (the Festival commemorating the Declaration of Bahá'u'lláh) by the adult declared believers of the community, the voting list being drawn up by the outgoing Spiritual Assembly. Concerning the character and functions of this body, 'Abdu'l-Bahá has written as follows;

"It is incumbent upon everyone (every believer) not to take any step (of Bahá'í activity) without consulting the Spiritual Assembly, and they must assuredly obey with heart and soul its bidding and be submissive unto it, that things may be properly ordered and well arranged.

Otherwise every person will act independently and after his own judgment, will follow his own desire, and do harm to the Cause.

“ The prime requisites for them that take counsel together are purity of motive, radiance of spirit, detachment from all else save God, attraction to His divine fragrance, humility and lowliness amongst His loved ones, patience and long-suffering in difficulties and servitude to His exalted Threshold. Should they be graciously aided to acquire these attributes, victory from the unseen Kingdom of Bahá’i shall be vouchsafed to them. In this day, Assemblies of consultation are of the greatest importance and a vital necessity. Obedience unto them is essential and obligatory. The members thereof must take counsel together in such wise that no occasion for ill-feeling or discord may arise. This can be attained when every member expresses with absolute freedom his own opinion and setteth forth his argument. Should anyone oppose, he must on no account feel hurt, for not until matters are fully discussed can the right way be revealed. The shining spark of truth cometh forth only after the clash of differing opinions. If after discussion a decision be carried unanimously, well and good; but if, the Lord forbid, differences of opinion should arise, a majority of voices must prevail.

“ The first condition is absolute love and harmony amongst the members of the Assembly. They must be wholly free from estrangement and must manifest in

themselves the Unity of God, for they are the waves of one sea, the drops of one river, the stars of one heaven, the rays of one sun, the trees of one orchard, the flowers of one garden. Should harmony of thought and absolute unity be non-existent, that gathering shall be dispersed and that Assembly be brought to naught.

“The second condition: They must when coming together turn their faces to the Kingdom on high and ask aid from the realm of Glory. . . Discussions must all be confined to spiritual matters that pertain to the training of souls, the instruction of children, the relief of the poor, the help of the feeble throughout all classes in the world, kindness to all peoples, the diffusion of the fragrances of God and the exaltation of His Holy Word. Should they endeavour to fulfil these conditions the grace of the Holy spirit shall be vouchsafed unto them and that Assembly shall become the centre of the divine blessings, the hosts of divine confirmation shall come to their aid, and they shall day by day receive a new effusion of spirit.”

The letters of Shoghi Effendi quote the fundamental instructions contained in the writings of Bahá'u'lláh and 'Abdu'l-Bahá on the character of Bahá'í administration, and give them definite application: “A careful study of Bahá'u'lláh's and 'Abdu'l-Bahá's Tablets will reveal that other duties (besides teaching the Cause), no less vital to the interests of the Cause, devolve upon the elected representatives of the friends in every locality.

“They must endeavour to promote amity and concord amongst the friends and secure an active and whole-hearted co-operation for the service of the Cause.

“They must do their utmost to extend at all times the helping hand to the poor, the sick, the disabled, the orphan, the widow, irrespective of colour, caste and creed.

“They must promote by every means in their power the material as well as spiritual enlightenment of youth, the means for the education of children; institute, whenever possible, Bahá’í educational institutions; organise and supervise their work, and provide the best means for their progress and development.

“They must make an effort to maintain official, regular and frequent correspondence with the various Bahá’í centers throughout the world, report to them their activities, and share the glad-tidings they receive with all their fellow-workers in the Cause.

“They must bend every effort to promote the interests of the Mashriqu’l-Adhkár (*i.e.*, House of Worship), *and hasten the day when the work of this glorious Edifice† will have been consummated.

“They must encourage and stimulate by every means at their command, through subscriptions, reports and articles, the development of the various Bahá’í magazines.

* Referring particularly to Spiritual Assemblies in America.

† On the shore of Lake Michígan.

“They must undertake the arrangement of the regular meetings of the friends, the feasts and anniversaries, as well as the special gatherings designed to serve and promote the social, intellectual and spiritual interests of their fellowmen.

“They must supervise in these days when the Cause is still in its infancy all Bahá’í publications and translations, and provide in general for a dignified and accurate presentation of all Bahá’í literature and its distribution to the general public.

“These rank among the most outstanding obligations of the members of every Spiritual Assembly. In whatever locality the Cause has sufficiently expanded, and in order to insure efficiency and avoid confusion, each of these manifold functions will have to be referred to a special Committee, responsible to that Assembly, elected by it from among the friends in that locality, and upon whose work the Assembly will have to exercise constant and general supervision.

“In every locality, be it city or hamlet, where the number of adult declared believers exceed nine, a local Spiritual Assembly must be forthwith established.

“As the progress and extension of spiritual activities is dependent and conditioned upon material means, it is of absolute necessity that immediately after the establishment of local as well as national Spiritual Assemblies, a Bahá’í Fund be established, to be placed under the ex-

clusive control of the Spiritual Assembly. All donations and contributions should be offered to the Treasurer of the Assembly, for the express purpose of promoting the interests of the Cause throughout that locality or country. It is the sacred obligation of every conscientious and faithful servant of Bahá'u'lláh, who desires to see His Cause advance, to contribute freely and generously for the increase of that Fund. The members of the Spiritual Assembly will at their own discretion expend it to promote the teaching campaign, to help the needy, to establish educational Bahá'í institutions, to extend in every way their sphere of service.

“Full harmony, however, as well as co-operation among the various local Assemblies and the members themselves, and particularly between each Assembly and the National Body is of the utmost importance, for upon it depends the unity of the Cause of God, the solidarity of the friends, the full, speedy and efficient working of the spiritual activities of His loved ones.

“The various Assemblies, local and national, constitute today the bedrock upon the strength of which the Universal House (of Justice) is in future to be firmly established and raised. Not until these function vigorously and harmoniously can the hope for the termination of this period of transition be realised. . . Bear in mind that the keynote of the Cause of God is not dictatorial authority, but humble, fellowship; not arbitrary power, but the spirit of frank and loving consultation. Nothing short of the spirit

of a true Bahá'í can hope to reconcile the principle of mercy and justice, of freedom and submission, of the sanctity of the right of the individual and of self-surrender, of vigilance, discretion and prudence on the one hand, and fellowship, candour, and courage on the other."

Experience in the life of a Bahá'í community and participation in the details of its several activities impresses one with the fact that Bahá'í unity has in it new elements which work powerfully to expand one's area of sympathy, deepen one's insight, develop one's character and bring order and stability into all of one's affairs. There can be no higher privilege than the experience of attempting to serve faithfully upon a Spiritual Assembly, conscious and its members are of the unique standard upheld by 'Abdu'l-Bahá and bringing as it does the opportunity of dealing with a large range and diversity of human problems from an impersonal point of view. It is inevitable that the nine elected members shall exemplify diverse interests and types of character, with the result that unity of heart and conscience with the other eight members is a direct training to enter into spiritual unity with the larger body of mankind. No such schools of discipline and inspiration exist on earth today for one must bear in mind that a Bahá'í community can never be an exclusive group nor a closed circle of interests, but, on the contrary, its fundamental purpose is to unify and co-operate with every possible element in the surrounding population.

Since a Spiritual Assembly is established upon a new and higher ideal, the character, knowledge and purity of

its members is essential to success. Wherever personal ambition, narrowness or impurity enters a Spiritual Assembly, the results are invariably to check the growth of the Cause, and, if these conditions are prolonged to destroy the foundation already laid. The careful student of the teachings will accept this result as one more vindication of the all-surrounding spirit protecting this Faith. The elimination of an unworthy group from the Bahá'í Cause would be a bitter disappointment but not an evidence that the Cause had failed. On the contrary, the Cause could only be declared a failure if personal ambition, pride, narrowness and impurity should so prevail as to build a world-wide organisation able to pervert the original purpose.

The local Spiritual Assemblies of a country are linked together and co-ordinated through another elected body of nine members, the National Spiritual Assembly. This body comes into being by means of an annual election held by elected delegates representing the local Bahá'í communities.

The relation of the National Spiritual Assembly to the local Spiritual Assemblies and to the body of the believers the country is thus defined in the letters of the Guardian of the Cause:

“Regarding the establishment of National Assemblies, it is of vital importance that in every country, where the conditions are favourable and the number of the friends has grown and reached a considerable size—that a National Spiritual Assembly be immediately established, representative of the friends throughout that country.

"Its immediate purpose is to stimulate, unify and co-ordinate, by frequent personal consultations, the manifold activities of the friends as well as the local Assemblies; and by keeping in close and constant touch with the Holy Land, initiate measures, and direct in general the affairs of the Cause in that country.

"It serves also another purpose, no less essential than the first, as in the course of time it shall evolve into the National House of Justice (referred to in 'Abdu'l-Bahá's *Will* as the 'Secondary House of Justice') which according to the explicit text of the *Testament* will have, in conjunction with the other National Assemblies throughout the Bahá'í world, to elect directly the members of the International or Universal House of Justice, that Supreme Council that will guide, organize and unify the affairs of the Movement throughout the world.

"This National Spiritual Assembly which, pending the establishment of the Universal House of Justice, will have to be re-elected once a year, obviously assumes grave responsibilities for it has to exercise full authority over all the local Assemblies in its province, and will have to direct the activities of the friends, guard vigilantly the Cause of God, and control and supervise the affairs of the Movement in general.

"Vital issues, affecting the interest of the Cause in that country, such as the matter of translation and publication the *Mashriqu'l-Adhkár*, the teaching work, and other

similar matters that stand distinct from strictly local affairs, must be under the full jurisdiction of the National Assembly.

“It is the bounden duty, in the interest of the Cause we all love and serve, of the members of the incoming National Assembly, once elected by the delegates at Convention time, to seek and have the utmost regard, individually as well as collectively, for the advice, the considered opinion and the true sentiments of the assembled delegates. Banishing every vestige of secrecy, of undue reticence, of dictatorial aloofness from their midst they should radiantly and abundantly unfold to the eyes of the delegates by whom they were elected, their plans, their hopes and their cares. They should familiarise the delegates with the various matters that will have to be considered in the current year, and calmly and conscientiously study and weigh the opinions and judgments of the delegates. The newly elected National Assembly, during the few days when the Convention is in session, and after the dispersion of the delegates, should seek ways and means to cultivate understanding, facilitate and maintain the exchange of views, deepen confidence, and vindicate by every tangible evidence their one desire to serve and advance the commonweal.

Concerning the matter of drawing up the voting list to be used at the annual local Bahá'í elections, the responsibility for this is placed upon each local Spiritual Assembly, and as a guidance in the matter the Guardian has written the following:

“To state very briefly and as adequately as present circumstances permit, the principal factors that must be taken into consideration before deciding whether a person may be regarded as a true believer or not: Full recognition of the station of the Fore-runner, the Author and the True Exemplar of the Bahá’í Cause, as set forth in ‘*Abdu’l-Bahá’s Will and Testament*’; unreserved acceptance of a submission to whatsoever has been revealed by their Pen; loyal and steadfast adherence to every clause of our Beloved’s sacred *Will*; and close association with the spirit as well as the form of the present-day Bahá’í administration—these I conceive to be the fundamental and primary considerations that must be fairly discreetly and thoughtfully ascertained before reaching such a vital decision.”

‘Abdul’-Bahá’s instructions provided for the further development of Bahá’í organisation through an International Spiritual Assembly to be elected by the members of the National Spiritual Assemblies. This international body has not yet come into existence, but its special character has been clearly defined:

“And now, concerning the Assembly (Baytu’l-‘Adl : *i.e.*, House of Justice) which God hath ordained as the source of all good and free from all error, it must be elected by universal suffrage, that is, by the believers. Its members must be manifestations of the fear of God, and day-springs of knowledge and understanding, must be steadfast in God’s Faith, and the well-wishers of all mankind. By this Assembly is meant the Universal Assembly; that is, in

each country a secondary Assembly must be instituted, and these secondary Assemblies must elect the members of the Universal one.

“Unto this body all things must be referred. It enacteth all ordinances and regulations that are not to be found in the explicit Holy Text. By this body all the difficult problems are to be resolved, and the Guardian of the Cause is its sacred head and the distinguished member, for life, of that body. Should he not attend in person its deliberations, he must appoint one to represent him, . . . This Assembly enacteth the laws and the executive enforceth them. The legislative body must reinforce the executive must aid and assist the legislative body, so that, through the close union and harmony of these two forces, the foundation of fairness and justice may become firm and strong, that all the regions of the world may become even as Paradise itself.

“Unto the *Most Holy Book* everyone must turn, and all that is not expressly recorded therein must be referred to the Universal Assembly. That which this body, either unanimously or by a majority, doth carry, that is verily the truth and the purpose of God Himself. Whoso doth deviate therefrom is verily of them that love discord, hath shown forth malice and turned away from the Lord of the Covenant.”

Even at the present time, the Bahá'ís in all parts of the world maintain an intimate and cordial association by means of regular correspondence and individual visits.

This contact of members of different races, nationalities and religious traditions is concrete proof that the burden of prejudice and the historical factors of division can be entirely overcome through the spirit of oneness established by Bahá'u'lláh.

The general student of religion will not fail to note four essential characteristics of Bahá'í administration. The first is its completely successful reconciliation of the usually opposed claims of democratic freedom and unanswerable authority. The second is the entire absence from the Bahá'í Cause of anything approaching the institution of a salaried professional clergy. The Bahá'í conception of religion is one which combines mysticism, which is a sacred personal experience, with practical morality, which is a useful contact between the individual and his fellow man. In the nature of things, some souls are more advanced than others, and the function of spiritual teaching is given special importance in the writings of Bahá'u'lláh and 'Abdu'l-Bahá. The Bahá'í teacher, however, has no authority over the individual conscience. The individual conscience must be subordinated to the decisions of a duly elected Spiritual Assembly, but this relationship is entirely different in character and results from the relationship of an individual with minister or priest.

The third characteristic is the absence of internal factionalism, that bane of all organised effort, and the sure sign of the presence of spiritual disease. The predominant spirit of unity which distinguishes the Bahá'í Cause in its relation

to the world, making its followers strive for reconciliation rather than partisan victory, creates an internal condition, unlike that which exists in movements which accept partisan victory, in one or another form, as their very reason for being. Such movements can but disintegrate from within; the Bahá'í Movement can but grow.

Significant also is the fourth characteristic, namely, that the Bahá'í Cause has within it an inherent necessity operating slowly but surely to bring its administration into the hands of those truly fitted for the nature of the work. The lesser vision gives way invariably for the larger vision, itself replaced by the still larger vision in due time. The result is an inevitable improvement in the qualities placed at the service of the Cause, until the highest attributes of humanity will be enrolled. In the Bahá'í Cause we are actually witnessing the fulfilment of that strange and cryptic saying "The meek shall inherit the earth."

That the administrative machinery is not an end in itself but merely the means to spread everywhere the light of faith and brotherhood, is frequently expressed by the Guardian in his general letters, and this brief survey may well close with one of those passages:

"Not by the force of numbers, not by the mere exposition of a set of new and noble principles, not by an organized campaign of teaching—no matter how world-wide and elaborate in its character—not even by the staunchness of our faith or the exaltation of our enthusiasm, can we ultimately

hope to vindicate in the eyes of a critical and sceptical age the supreme claim of the Abha Revelation. One thing and only one thing will unfailingly and alone secure the undoubted triumph of this sacred Cause, namely, the extent to which our own inner life and private character mirror forth in their manifold aspects the splendour of those eternal principles proclaimed by Baha'u'llah."

Horace Holley.

EXCERPTS FROM BAHÁ'Í SACRED WRITINGS

We desire but the good of the world and the happiness of the nations; yet they deem us a stirrer-up of strife and sedition worthy of bondage and banishment. . . That all nations should become one in faith and all men as brothers; that the bonds of affection, and unity between the sons of men should be strengthened; that diversity of religion should cease, and differences of race be annulled—what harm is there in this? . . . Yet so it shall be; these fruitless strifes, these ruinous wars shall pass away, and the “ Most Great Peace ” shall come. . . . Is not this that which Christ foretold? . . . Yet do we see your kings and rulers lavishing their treasures more freely on means for the destruction of the human race than on that which would conduce to the happiness of mankind. . . These strifes and this bloodshed and discord must cease, and all men be as one kindred and one family.—*Bahá'u'llah*.

The root of all knowledge is knowledge of God, Glory be to Him! and this knowledge is impossible save through His Manifestation.—*Bahá'u'llah*.

O Son of Man! Upon the tree of effulgent glory I have hung for thee the choicest fruits, wherefore hast thou turned away and contented thyself with that which is less good? Return then unto that which is better for thee in the realm on high.

O Son of Spirit! Noble have I created thee, yet thou hast abased thyself. Rise then unto that for which thou wast created.

O Son of the Supreme! To the eternal I call thee, yet thou dost seek that which perisheth. What hath made thee turn away from Our desire and seek thine own?

O Son of Being! Bring thyself to account each day ere thou art summoned to a reckoning; for death, unheralded, shall come upon thee and thou shalt be called to give account for thy deeds.

O Son of the Supreme! I have made death a messenger of joy to thee. Wherefore dost thou grieve? I made the light to shed on thee its splendour. Why dost thou veil thyself therefrom?

O Son of Spirit! With the joyful tidings of light I hail thee: rejoice! to the court of holiness I summon thee; abide therein that thou mayest live in peace for evermore.

O Son of Spirit! The spirit of holiness beareth unto thee the joyful tidings of reunion; wherefore dost thou grieve? The spirit of power confirmeth thee in His cause; why dost thou veil thyself? The light of His countenance doth lead thee; how canst thou go astray?

O Son of Man! Wert thou to speed through the immensity of space and traverse the expanse of heaven, yet thou shouldst find no rest save in submission to our command and humbleness before Our Face.

O Son of Man! Should prosperity befall thee, rejoice not, and should abasement come upon thee, grieve not, for both shall pass away and be no more.

O Son of Man! Thou dost wish for gold and I desire thy freedom from it. Thou thinkest thyself rich in its possession, and I recognise thy wealth in thy sanctity therefrom. By My life! this is My Knowledge, and that is thy fancy; how can My way accord with thine?

O Son of Man! The temple of being is My throne; cleanse it of all things, that there I may be established and there I may abide.

O Son of Being! Thy heart is My home; sanctify it for My descent. Thy spirit is My place of revelation; cleanse it for My manifestation.

O Son of Spirit! The bird seeketh its nest; the nightingale the charm of the rose; whilst those birds, the hearts of men, content with transient dust, have strayed far from their eternal nest, and with eyes turned towards the slough of heedlessness are bereft of the glory of the divine presence. Alas! how strange and pitiful; for a mere cupful, they have turned away from the billowing seas of the Most High, and remained far from the most effulgent horizon.

O Son of Dust! Blind thine eyes, that thou mayest behold My beauty; stop thine ears, that thou mayest hearken unto the sweet melody of My voice; empty thyself of all learning;

that thou mayest partake of My Knowledge; and sanctify thyself from riches, that thou mayest obtain a lasting share from the ocean of My eternal wealth. Blind thine eyes, that is, to all save my beauty; stop thine ears to all save My word; empty thyself of all learning save the knowledge of Me; that with a clear vision a pure heart and an attentive ear thou mayest enter the court of My holiness.

O Bond Slave of the World! Many a dawn hath the breeze of My loving-kindness wafted over thee and found thee upon the bed of heedlessness fast asleep. Bewailing then thy plight it returned whence it came.

O Son of Earth! Wouldst thou have Me, seek none other than Me; and wouldst thou gaze upon My beauty, close thine eyes to the world and all that is therein; for My will and the will of another than Me, even as fire and water, cannot dwell together in one heart.

O Befriended Stranger! The candle of thine heart is lighted by the hand of My power, quench it not with the contrary winds of self and passion. The healer of all thy ills is remembrance of Me, forget it not. Make My love thy treasure and cherish it even as thy very sight and life.

Alas! Alas! O Lovers of Worldly Desire! Even as the swiftness of lightning ye have passed by the beloved One, and have set your hearts on satanic fancies. Ye bow the knee before your vain imagining, and call it truth. Ye turn your eyes towards the throne, and name it a flower. Not a pure breath have ye breathed, nor hath the breeze

of detachment been wafted from the meadows of your hearts. Ye have cast to the winds the loving counsels of the Beloved and have effaced them utterly from the tablet of your hearts, and even as the beasts of the field, ye move and have your being within the pastures of desire and passion.

O Son of My Handmaid! Be not troubled in poverty nor confident in riches, for poverty is followed by riches, and riches are followed by poverty. Yet to be poor in all save God is a wondrous gift, belittle not the value thereof; for in the end it will make thee rich in God, and thus thou shalt know the meaning of the utterance, "In truth ye are the poor," and the holy words; "God is the all-possessing" shall even as the true morn break forth gloriously resplendent upon the horizon of the lover's heart, and abide secure on the throne of wealth.

O Children of Vainglory! For a fleeting sovereignty ye have abandoned My imperishable dominion, and have adorned yourselves with the gay livery of the world and made of it your boast. By My beauty! All will I gather beneath the one-coloured covering of the dust and efface all these diverse colours save them that choose My own; and that is purging from every colour.

O Son of Justice! In the night-season the beauty of the immortal Being hath repaired from the emerald height of fidelity unto the Sadra'tu'l-Muntahá, and wept with such a weeping that the concourse on high and the dwellers of the realms above wailed at His lamenting. Whereupon there

was asked, Why the wailing and weeping? He made reply: As bidden I waited expectant upon the hill of faithfulness, yet inhaled not from them that dwell on earth the fragrance of fidelity. Then summoned to return I beheld, and lo! certain doves of holiness were sore tried within the claws of the dogs of earth. Thereupon the Maid of heaven hastened forth unveiled and resplendent from Her mystic mansion, and asked of their names, and all were told but one. And when urged, the first letter thereof was uttered, whereupon the dwellers of the celestial chambers rushed forth out of their habitation of glory. And whilst the second letter was pronounced they fell down, one and all, upon the dust. At the moment a voice was heard from the inmost shrine: "Thus far and no farther." Verily we bear witness to that which they have done and now are doing.

The mystic and wondrous Bride, hidden ere this beneath the veiling of utterance, hath now, by the grace of God and His divine favour, been made manifest even as the resplendent light shed by the beauty of the Beloved. I bear witness; O friends! that the favour is complete, the argument fulfilled, the proof manifest and the evidence established. Let it now be seen what your endeavours in the path of renunciation will reveal. In this wise hath the divine favour been fully vouchsafed into you and unto them that are in heaven and on earth. All praise to God, the Lord of all Worlds.—Baha'u'llah.

Amongst the proofs demonstrating the truth of this Revelation is this, that in every age and Dispensation, when-

ever the Invisible Essence was revealed in the Person of His Manifestation, certain souls, obscure and free from all wordly entanglements, would seek illumination from the Sun of Prophethood and Moon of Divine Guidance; and would attain unto the Divine Presence. For this reason, the divines of the age and those possessed of wealth; would scorn and scoff at these people. Even as He hath revealed concerning them that erred: "Then said the chiefs of His people who believed not, 'We see in thee but a man like ourselves; and we see not who have followed thee except our meanest ones of hasty judgment, nor see we any excellence in you above ourselves; nay, we deem you liars.'" They cavilled at those holy Manifestations, and protested saying: "None hath followed you except the abject amongst us, they who are worthy of no attention." Their aim was to show that no one amongst the learned, the wealthy, and the renowned believed in them. By this and similar proofs they sought to demonstrate the falsity of Him that speaketh naught but the truth.

In this most conspicuous Dispensation, however, this most mighty Sovereignty, a number of illumined divines, of men of consummate learning, of doctors of mature wisdom, have attained unto His Court, drunk the Cup of His Divine Presence, and been invested with the honour of His most excellent favour. They have renounced, for the sake of the Beloved, the world and all that is therein.

All these were guided by the light of that Sun of Divine Revelation, all confessed and acknowledged His truth.

Such was their faith, that most of them renounced their substance and kindred, and cleaved to the good-pleasure of the All-Glorious. They laid down their lives for thier Well-Beloved, and surrendered their all in His path. Their breasts were made the target for the darts of the enemy, and their heads adorned the spears of the infidel. No land remained which did not drink the blood of these embodiments of detachment, and no sword that did not wound their necks. Their deeds, alone, testify to the truth of their words. Doth not the testimony of these holy souls, who have so gloriously risen to offer up their lives for their Beloved that the whole world marvelled at the manner of their sacrifice, suffice the people of this day? Is it not sufficient witness against the faithlessness of those who for a trifle betrayed their faith, who bartered away immortality for that which perisheth, who gave up the Kawthar of the Divine Presence for salty springs, and whose one aim in life is to usurp the property of others? Even as thou dost witness how all of them have busied themselves with the vanities of the world, and have strayed far from Him Who is the Lord, the Most High.

Be fair: Is the testimony acceptable and worthy of attention of those whose deeds agree with their words, whose outward behaviour conforms with their inner life? The mind is bewildered at their deeds, and the soul marveleth at their fortitude and bodily endurance. Or is the testimony of these faithless souls acceptable and worthy of attention, these souls who breath not but the breath of sel-

fish desire, and who lie prisoned in the cage of their idle fancies? Like the bat of darkness, they lift not their head from their couch except to pursue the transient things of the world, and find no rest by night unless they labour to advance the aims of their sordid life. Immersed in their selfish schemes, they are oblivious of the Divine Decree. In the day-time they strive with all their soul after worldly benefits, and in the night-season their sole occupation is to gratify their carnal desires. By what law or standard could men be justified in cleaving to the denials of such small-minded souls, and in ignoring the faith of them that have renounced, for the sake of the good pleasure of God, their life, and substance, their fame and renown, their reputation and honour?

With what love, what devotion, what exultation and holy rapture, they scarified their lives in the path of the All-Glorious! To the truth of this all witness. And yet, how can they belittle this Revelation? Hath any age witnessed such momentous happenings? If these Companions be not the true strivers after God, who else could be called by this name? Have these Companions been seekers after power or glory? Have they ever yearned for riches? Have they cherished any desire except the good pleasure of God? If these Companions, with all their marvellous testimonies and wondrous works, be false, who then is worthy to claim for himself the truth? By the righteousness of God! Their very deeds are a sufficient testimony and an irrefutable proof unto all the peoples of the earth, were men to ponder in their hearts the mysteries of Divine

Revelation: "And they who act unjustly shall soon know what a lot awaiteth them!"

Consider these martyrs of unquestioned sincerity, to whose truthfulness testifieth the explicit text of the Book, and all of whom, as thou hast witnessed, have sacrificed their life, their substance, their wives, their children, their all, and ascended unto the loftiest chambers of Paradise. Is it fair to reject the testimony of these detached and exalted beings to the truth of this pre-eminent and glorious Revelation, and to regard as acceptable the denunciations which have been uttered against this resplendent Light by this faithless people, who for gold have forsaken their faith, and who for the sake of leadership have repudiated Him Who is the First Leader of all mankind? This, although their character is now revealed unto all people who have recognized them as those who will in no wise relinquish one jot or one tittle of their temporal authority for the sake of God's Holy Faith, how much less their life, their substance, and the like,—*Baha'u'llah*.

O thou Remnant of God! I have sacrificed myself wholly for Thee; I have accepted curses for Thy sake; and have yearned for naught but martyrdom in the path of Thy love. Sufficient Witness unto me is God, the Exalted, the Protector, the Ancient of Days!—*The Bab*.

Me thinks I heard a Voice calling in my inmost being; "Do thou sacrifice the thing thou lovest most in the path of God, even as Husayn, peace be upon him, hath offered up his life for My sake." And were I not regardful of this

inevitable mystery, by Him in Whose hand is my soul even if all the kings of the earth were leagued together they would be powerless to take from me a single letter, how much less could those servants are worthy of no, how attention, and who verily are of the outcast! That all may know the degree of my patience, my resignation and self-sacrifice in the path of God.—*The Bab*.

The Holy Manifestations who have been the sources or founders of the various religious systems were united and agreed in purpose and teaching. His Holiness Abraham, Moses, Zoroaster, Buddha, Jesus, Muhammad, the Báb and Bahá'u'lláh, are one in spirit and reality. Moreover each Prophet fulfilled the promise of the one who came before Him and likewise each announced the one who would follow. Consider how His Holiness Abraham foretold the coming of Moses and Moses embodied the Abrahamic statement. His Holiness Moses prophesied the Messianic cycle and His Holiness Christ fulfilled the law of Moses. It is evident, therefore, that the Holy Manifestations who founded the religious systems are united and agreed; there is no differentiation possible in their mission and teachings; all are reflectors of reality and all are promulgators of the religion of God. The divine religion is reality and reality is not multiple; it is one. Therefore the foundations of the religious systems are one because all proceed from the invisible reality; but the followers of these systems have disagreed; discord, strife and warfare have arisen among them, for they have forsaken the foundation and held to that which is but imitation and semblance.

Inasmuch as imitations differ, enmity and dissension have resulted.—‘*Abdu’l-Baha*.

Each divine revelation is divided into two parts. The first part is essential and belongs to the eternal world. It is the exposition of divine truth and essential principles. It is the expression of the love of God. This is one in all the religions, unchangeable and immutable. The second part is not eternal; it deals with practical life, transactions and business, and changes according to the evolution of man and the requirements of the time of each prophet.—‘*Abdu’l-Baha*.

Now in this world of being, the Hand of Divine Power hath firmly laid the foundations of this all-highest Bounty and this wondrous Gift. Gradually whatsoever is latent in the innermost of this Holy Cycle shall appear and be manifest, for now is but the beginning of its growth and the dayspring of the revelation of its Signs. Ere the close of this Century and of this Age, it shall be made clear and manifest how wondrous was that Springtide and how heavenly was that Gift.—‘*Abdu’l-Baha*.

The Universal Educator must be at the same time not only a material, but also a human and spiritual educator; and he must possess a supernatural power so that he may hold the position of a divine teacher. If he does not show forth such a holy power, he will not be able to educate, for if he be imperfect, how can he give a perfect education? If he be ignorant, how can he make others wise? If he be

unjust, how can he make others just? If he be earthly, how can he make others heavenly?—

Christ in His blessed day in reality only educated eleven men; the greatest of them was Peter, who, nevertheless, when he was tested, thrice denied Christ. In spite of this, the Cause of Christ subsequently permeated the world. At the present day Bahá'u'lláh has educated thousands of souls who, while under the menace of the sword, raised to the highest heaven the cry of “Ya Bahául'Abhá.” . . .

Now consider the influence of the sun upon the earthly beings: what signs and results become evident and clear from its nearness and remoteness, from its rising or its setting. At one time it is autumn, at another time spring; or again it is summer or winter. When the sun passes the line of the Equator, the life-giving spring will become manifest in splendour, and when it is in the summer solstice the fruits will attain to the acme of perfection, grains and plants will yield their produce, and earthly beings will attain their most complete development and growth.

In like manner when the Holy Manifestation of God, who is the sun of the world of His creation, shines upon the worlds of spirits, of thoughts, and of hearts, then the spiritual spring and new life appear, the power of the wonderful springtime becomes visible, and marvellous benefits are apparent. As you have observed, at the time of the appearance of each Manifestation of God, extraordinary progress has occurred in the world of minds, thoughts, and spirits. For example, in this divine age see what development has been attained in the world of minds

and thoughts, and it is now only the beginning of its dawn. Before long you will see that new bounties and divine teachings will illuminate this dark world, and will transform these sad regions into the paradise of Eden. . .

Muhammad appeared in the desert of Hijaz in the Arabian Peninsula, which was a desolate, sterile wilderness sandy and uninhabited. Some parts, like Mecca and Medina, are extremely hot; the people are nomads with the manners and customs of the dwellers in the desert, and are entirely destitute of education and science. Muhammad himself was illiterate, and the Qu'rán was originally written upon the bladebones of sheep, or on palm leaves. These details indicate the condition of the people to whom Muhammad was sent. The first question He put to them was: "Why do you not accept the Pentateuch and the Gospel, and why do you not believe in Christ and Moses?" This saying presented difficulties to them, and they argued: "Our forefathers did not believe in the Pentateuch and the Gospel: tell us, why was this?" He answered, "They were misled; you ought to reject those who do not believe in the Pentateuch and the Gospel, even though they are your fathers and your ancestors."

In such a country, and amidst such barbarous tribes, an illiterate man produced a book in which, in a perfect and eloquent style, he explained the divine attributes and perfections, the prophethood of the Messengers of God, the divine laws, and some scientific facts,

Thus, you know that before the observations of modern times, that is to say, during the first centuries and down to the fifteenth century of the Christian era, all the mathematicians of the world agreed that the earth was the center of the universe, and that the sun moved. The famous astronomer,* who was the protagonist of the new theory, discovered the movement of the earth and the immobility of the sun. Until his time all the astronomers and philosophers of the world followed the Ptolemaic system, and whoever said anything against it was considered ignorant. Though Pythagoras, and Plato during the latter part of his life, adopted the theory that the annual movement of the sun around the zodiac does not proceed from the sun, but rather from the movement of the earth around the sun, this theory had been entirely forgotten, and the Ptolemaic system was accepted by all mathematicians. But there are some verses revealed in the Qu'rán contrary to the theory of the Ptolemaic system. One of them is: "The sun moves in a fixed place,† which shows the fixity of the sun, and its movement around an axis." Again in another verse, "And each star moves in its own heaven.‡" Thus is explained the movement of the sun, of the moon, of the earth, and of other bodies, When the Qu'rán appeared all the mathematicians ridiculed these statement, and attributed the theory to ignorance. Even the doctors of Islám, when they saw that these verses were contrary to the accepted Ptolemaic system, were obliged to explain them away.

*Copernicus.

†Qu'ran Sura 36.

‡Qu'ran, Sura 36.

It was not until after the fifteenth century of the Christian era, nearly nine hundred years after Muhammad, that a famous astronomer§ made new observations and important discoveries by the aid of the telescope which he had invented. The rotation of the earth, the fixity of the sun, and also its movement around an axis, were discovered. It is thus evident that the verses of the Qu'rán agree with existing facts, and that the Ptolemaic system was imaginary. . . .

Since the Sanctified Realities, the universal Manifestations of God, surround the essence and qualities of the creatures, transcend and contain existing realities and understand all things, therefore their knowledge is divine knowledge, and not acquired; that is to say, it is a holy bounty, it is a divine revelation.

We will mention an example, expressly for the purpose of comprehending this subject. The most noble being on the earth is man. He embraces the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms; that is to say, these conditions are contained in him to such an extent that he is the possessor of these conditions and states; he is aware of their mysteries and of the secrets of their existence. This is simply an example, and not an analogy. Briefly, the universal Manifestations of God are aware of the reality of the mysteries of beings, therefore they establish laws which are suitable and adapted to the state of the world of man; for religion is the essential connection which proceeds from the realities

§Galileo.

of things. The Manifestation, that is the Holy Law giver, unless he is aware of the realities of beings, will not comprehend the essential connection which proceeds from the realities of things, and he will certainly not be able to establish a religion comfortable to the facts and suited to the conditions. The Prophets of God, the universal Manifestations, are like skilled physicians, and the contingent world is like the body of man; the divine laws are the remedy and treatment. Consequently, the doctor must be aware of, and know, all the members and parts, as well as the constitution and state of the patient, so that he can prescribe a medicine which will be beneficial against the violent poison of the disease. In reality, the doctor deduces from the disease itself the treatment which is suited to the patient, for he diagnoses the malady, and afterwards prescribes the remedy for the illness. Unless the malady be discovered, how can the remedy and treatment be prescribed? The doctor then must have a thorough knowledge of the constitution, members, organs, and state of the patient, and be acquainted with all diseases and all remedies, in order to prescribe a fitting medicine.

Religion, then, is the necessary connection which emanates from the reality of things; and as the universal Manifestations of God are aware of the mysteries of beings, therefore they understand this essential connection, and by this knowledge establish the Law of God. (Excerpts from "Some Answered Questions.")—*Abdu'l-Baha*.

True civilization will unfurl its banner in the midmost heart of the world whenever a certain number of distin-

guished sovereigns of lofty aims—the shining exemplars of devotion and determination—shall, for the good and happiness of all mankind, arise with a firm resolve and clear vision to establish the cause of Universal Peace. They must make the cause of Peace the object of universal consultation, and seek by every means in their power to convene a conference of the governments of the world. They must conclude a firm treaty, and establish a Covenant the provisions of which shall be sound, clear and definite. They must promulgate it to the world, and cause it to be ratified by the unanimous decision of the whole human race.

This great and noble undertaking—the real source of the tranquillity of all the world—should be regarded as sacred by all who dwell on earth. All peoples and nations should bend their efforts to insure the stability and permanence of this supreme Covenant. In his universal treaty the limits and frontiers of all nations should be definitely fixed, the principles underlying the relations of governments expressly stated, and all inter-governmental agreements, relationships and obligations ascertained and clearly set forth.

In like manner, the size of the armaments of every government should be strictly limited, for if the preparation for war and the fighting forces of any government advance and increase, the suspicions of other governments aroused. The fundamental principle underlying this solemn Agreement should be so fixed that if one of the governments of the world should later violate any one of

its provisions, all the governments on earth would arise to reduce it to utter submission, nay the human race as a whole should resolve with every power at its disposal to destroy that government. Should this greatest of all remedies be applied to the sick body of the world, humanity will assuredly recover from its ill and will remain safe and secure for all time. . . .

A few, unaware how much man can do if he will but try, regard this matter as really impracticable, and even beyond the range of human ability. Such is not the case, however. On the contrary, thanks to the unfailing grace of the Lord, to the loving-kindness of the favoured of God, to the extraordinary endeavours of wise and capable souls, and to the thoughts and ideas of the peerless leaders of the times, nothing whatsoever can be regarded as unattainable. Nothing sort of the highest endeavour and the firmest determination can possibly achieve this end. Many a ³/₄ cause, which past ages have regarded as a mere dream and fiction of the fancy, has proved in these days to be practicable and easy of achievement. How then can this most great and lofty cause—the day-star in the firmament of true civilization and the cause of the glory, the advancement, the well-being and the success of all humanity—be regarded as an impossibility? Of a surety, the day will come when its beauteous light shall illuminate the assemblage of man. ('Abdul'l-Bahá: *The Secret of Divine Civilization*.)

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THE ART OF KATHAKALI



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FOREWORD.

This brochure relates to an exposition of the Art of Pantomime in Kerala, the main feature of which is a highly specialised variety of hand poses, and gestures of the body and limbs. It has been prepared for the benefit of foreigners who are interested in things Indian.

R. VASUDEVA PODUVAL,
Superintendent of Archaeology,
Travancore State.

CoD

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THE ART OF KATHAKALI (PANTOMIME) IN KERALA.

Kathakali is a dramatic performance in dumb show (a Pantomime) to the accompaniment of music. It is one of the peculiar institutions of Kēraḷa, and reflects the martial characteristics of its people. In it the incidents of the story are indicated by means of musical dialogues and verses which are interpreted in acting by means of signs, symbols and gestures. Till very recent times one of the most popular and favourite amusements, it served to keep alive a spirit of godliness in the land.

In the performance of Kathakali, gesture or Abhinaya, movement of the body and limbs plays a prominent part; and it is combined with music and dancing. This gives it a unique charm. In other words, Kathakali may be regarded as an interpretative Dance to the accompaniment of music, in which there is a combination of Abhinaya or acting, with 'Kavitha' or poetry. The art of Kathakali is therefore the art of acting, *i. e.*, the expression by movements of the human body and limbs, of emotions and thoughts. This

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acting includes not only facial expressions and bodily movements, but also the usage of elaborately codified hand poses or *Mudrās*. The expression of the Kathakali is complete with various postures or attitudes of the body, facial expression, gesture and dance or action movement, in which the portrayal of emotions is produced mostly by the eyes, eyebrows and face; and the descriptive and narrative actions by gestures of the body and limbs and by the use of hand poses (*Mudrās*) and finger signs.

The essential requisites of an actor in a Kathakali are flexibility, mobility and agility of body, limbs and facial expressions. To acquire these, he has to undergo an elaborate training and drilling of the body in which he acquires a fair knowledge of the various movements of the hand and foot which he has to use in the course of acting. The following is a short descriptive account of the same.

THE TRAINING OF THE ACTORS IN KATHAKALI.

Between the age of 12 and 14 the pupil goes to the *Āsan*, i. e., teacher of a 'Kālari' (a sort of gymnasium) and gives him a present in either coin or cloths; and with his benediction

enrols himself for training. He then gives a 'Katcha' or a piece of rough cloth 3 yds. long and 6 inches broad to the pupil, who ties it round his waist tightly. Oil sesamus is then lightly rubbed all over the body of the pupil by the teacher; and then the former is taught to move, stretch, and wave his hands and legs so that he might obtain agility and nimbleness in their movements. When he perspires by this exercise, the pupil has to prostrate himself on the floor, in the first instance face upwards, and then face to the ground with his knees resting on a soft cushion made of straw and plantain fibre; while the preceptor supporting himself by means of a rope above, "Shampooes" the pupil with his feet, or rather with his big toe, dexterously and elaborately going all round the region of the joints, lungs, etc. of the body for about half to three-fourth of an hour. After this massage process, the student goes for his bath, and then takes his food. In the noon, the pupil is trained to practise rhythmic dances (Nrittam) with his feet for dexterous movement. The next course is the training for the free movement of the eyeballs, eyebrows, cheeks and lips etc. for the expression of different emotions. After a fair degree of mastery is attained in these, the use of 'Mudrās' or hand poses, and the manipulation of the fingers

to make them, are taught to him. The last course of the training consists in learning *Tāla*, regulation of time with the movements of the hand and feet. The minimum period required for learning all these is about four months. With this equipment, the pupil is enrolled as an actor, and first presented in a Kathakali performance. Proficiency in acting is obtained only gradually in course of years and with the help of a series of rehearsals called 'Cholliyāttam,' *i. e.*, acting with the accompaniment of recitals and with a mild beating of 'Chenda' or drum. At least six years of continuous practice is necessary to make one a fairly competent actor; and every year during the rainy season (June to August), he has to undergo bodily massage in 'Kaḷari' by the preceptor, and practise various feats of arms, feet, body, eyes, eyelashes, lips, cheeks, neck, head, knee, etc.

It is only by a free and dexterous movement of various limbs and a clever mastery of the hand poses and finger signs that one can become a clever actor in Kathakali.

It is to be noted in this connection that though a Kathakali actor understands the meaning of the gestures, the precision in executing them are acquired by him only by long standing

practice. In other words the grace, suppleness, agility, charm and power of the actor in the Kathakālī depends on the control and balance of his body and limbs, and also of his eyes. The dance too is a necessary accompaniment of the pantomime. This he practises from the beginning, in which he learns the rhythm and movement of his feet to the Tāla—regulation of time, thereby gaining poise, control and harmony of movement.

More important than the movement of the feet are the gestures and movements of the body and limbs. The gestures are of three kinds.—

- (i) natural gestures produced unconsciously when moved by a pitch of emotion.
- (ii) imitative gestures by which the shape or some striking feature of an object is reproduced;
- (iii) gestures resulting from the amplification for secular purposes of the orthodox types or Tāntric symbols (*i. e.*, ritualistic symbols), such as those used for Ārādhana (worship), Abhaya (Protection), Varada (Benediction), Dāna (offering), etc.

These gestures are generally shown by the hands (*i. e.*, poses of hands, single or double), the head, eyes, lips, cheeks, eye-brows and neck. The movements of the hand apart from the poses, in other words finger signs, are employed usually in descriptive or indicative action, supplemented by gesticulations, facial expressions and attitudes of the body.

The hand poses (Mudrās) are of a highly codified and elaborate kind. They are divided into single (Asamyukta), and double (Samyukta). In the Nāṭyaśāstra 24 single, 13 double and 27 mixed hand poses are mentioned; while an old palm leaf manuscript peculiar to Malabar, refers to 24 single and 40 combined hand poses. The Chilappatikārom treats of 33 Mudrās; while in some treatises 28 single and 24 combined poses of hand are given.

In Kathakali, Mudrās seem to have been freely borrowed from the Āgamās and the Nāṭyaśāstrās. We are told of 64 hand poses chiefly used in it. They are indicated in Appendix A together with their usage. But ordinarily, the average Kathakali actor employs only four Mudrās each of which connoting the usage of 16 ideas or objects which in his common parlance is termed a 'Mudrā' each. They are described below :

HAND POSTES (MUDRAS) IN HINDU ART



I. Pataka.

Here the ring finger of the two hands is bent inwards to the palm with the rest of the fingers held erect. This Mudrā indicates the usage of sixteen groups of ideas or objects. They are :—

1. Sun
2. King
3. Elephant
4. Lion
5. Bull
6. Crocodile
7. Arch
8. Pātāla (Under world)
9. Earth
10. Highway
11. Cloth
12. Disc or wheel
13. Sandals
14. Seat
15. Going
16. Mantra.

II. Kataka.

Here the middle finger is bent inwards so that its end just touches the palm, while the pointing finger and thumb are brought into contact at their extremities, the other two fingers remaining extended.

This connotes the usage of the following 16 groups of ideas or objects :—

1. Vishnu
2. Balarāma
3. Srī Rāma
4. Prosperity (wealth)
5. Woman
6. Vīna (lute)
7. Star
8. Gold
9. Mirror
10. Silver
11. Umbrella
12. Milk
13. Flagstaff
14. Arrow
15. Rākshasi (female demon)
16. Hōma (offering to fire).

III. Mudra.

Here the pointing finger and the thumb touch each other at their extremities so as to form a circle, while the other fingers remain extended. The groups of ideas or objects indicated by this are :—

1. Lord of creation (Brahma)
2. Vēda
3. Tree

4. Svarga (heaven)
5. Sky
6. Chain
7. Rice
8. Heart
9. Dhyāna (Meditation)
10. Śruti (hearing)
11. Affection
12. Rākshasa (demon)
13. Thing
14. Cause
15. Equality
16. All.

IV. Mushti.

In this the thumb is placed in a manner so that its extremity is just inserted between the ring finger and the middle finger, while the other fingers are bent towards the palm of the hand. It is used to connote the following 16 groups of ideas or objects :—

1. Śūdra
2. Yaksha
3. Yama
4. Stick
5. Bow
6. Fight
7. Strength

8. Decline
9. Beauty
10. Gift (Dāna)
11. Singing
12. Imprisonment
13. Digging
14. Existence
15. Holy (holiness?)
16. Negative (negation?).

These 'Mudrās' or hand indications are used simultaneously with other movements of the body and limbs to render expression to the general ideas of the stanzas and songs chanted by the singer of the Kathakali. The projections of the hands and the arms accompanying the movements of the other parts of the body have a grace and plasticity : and all of them together constitute the different gestures representing varied ideas and emotions.

The Kathakali actors usually display an elaborate manipulation of the hand supplemented by various physical attitudes and movements in the expression of their ideas. The usage of their hands and fingers therefore speak to the eyes of the spectator a more powerful language than that of words. Their acting is therefore even more impassioned than eloquence ; and no speech can equal its warmth and force.

Besides the hand indications described above, nine movements of the head, eight glances of the eye (sometimes eleven), six movements of the eye-brows, and four postures of the neck are also said to be used in Kathakali. On the whole, the movements employed by the actors are generally those of the feet, heels, ankle, toes, waist, sides, fingers, hands, arms, neck, lips, nose, eyes, chin, cheeks, teeth, tongue, eyelids, pupils of the eye, eyebrows and head, of which the gestures of the eye, hand and body are considered to be the most important from the point of view of Abhinaya or acting.

Equally interesting and artistic are the costume and make-up of the actors in Kathakali. Starting originally with painted masks made of the areca sheath, considerable improvements in course of time came to be introduced by the ingenuity of two Nambūdiri Brāhmins (Kapliṅgāt and Kallatikōte), who according to tradition are responsible for the perfection of the Kathakali art. The facial make-up of the actors displays a remarkable combination of beauty (Sobha), loveliness (Kānti), radiance (Dīpti) and sweetness (Mādhurya): and is designed to express on the face the dominant passions and sentiments in the nature of the different characters. The colour

scheme is marvellously devised to bring out the best expression. Roughly speaking, the characters come under five broad divisions. The first is called 'Minukku,' where the face of the actors is smoothened by a thick coating of a mixture of yellow and red pigment, while a black unguent is applied to the eyes and eye-lashes. Rishis (sages), Brāhmīns and the female characters have this facial make-up. The second is known as 'Pachcha,' where the face of the actors is painted green, the eyes and lashes black, and the lips red; while along the border of the cheek and chin, a white mixture of rice flour and chunam is formed into fluted lines to enclose the whole picture. All great and noble characters such as Rāma, Krishna, the Pāndavās, etc., appear in this engaging guise.

In the next variety called "*Kathi*," a more elaborate facial make-up is employed, in which red and green are blended, the former being applied on either side of the nose up to the forehead and over the eyebrows, and the latter on the rest of the face. A white knob on the tip of the nose, and another on the forehead lend an arresting touch to this make-up. All Asurās or enemies of Gods like Rāvana are generally painted in this fashion.



Group of Kathakali Actors.

The fourth class known as *Tādi*, is of a three-fold kind, the white, red and black. A white beard and a white furred coat with a knob on the forehead and the nose are characteristics of the white 'Tādi,' as in the case of Hanumān, the monkey sage. The facial paint employed here is a pigment of yellow and red skilfully dashed with a thin coating of rice flour and chunam, the portion round the eyes, lips and chin being dyed with a black unguent. In the red variety of 'Tādi,' a red beard and a red coat are worn; while the face is painted red with the portion round the eyes, lips and chin dyed black, with bits of paper stuck up flutteringly on either side of the nose and chin up to the eyes in rice flour and chunam so as to give them the semblance of moustache. Characters like Bāli, the monkey king, appear in this manner. The features of the Black 'Tādi' are a black beard and a black coat with face painted black as in the case of 'Kali.'

The last type of characters is called *Kari*, where the face is coloured black, and the cheeks have a crescent shaped drawing in red, as in the case of Śiva in the disguise of a hunter.

Rarely in some cases a clown also is seen, whose facial make-up is so grotesquely contrived

with a combination of pigments of all colours as to give the character quite a comic appearance. The eyes of all the actors are always reddened for the stage by the young seed of *Solanum Pubescens*. The facial make-up described above, is thus on the whole, a remarkable and realistic work of art involving a highly developed skill in drawing with paints, which by their variegated colour helps facial expression considerably. It may be noted in this connection that for the green paint, a kind of orpiment is powdered and mixed with cocoanut oil; and then a little indigo is added, and the whole is ground over again into a smooth oily paint to which is finally mixed a little dammar to give it a glittering effect. The red paint is a mixture of vermilion or red arsenic and rice flour made into a paste in cocoanut oil. The black paint consists of soot and cocoanut oil. The general conception of the colour scheme seems to be that green represents Sātvik, red Rājasic, and black Tamasic natures, while yellow combines Sātvik and Rājasic qualities.

In regard to the personal embellishment of the actors, the sculptural images of Gods described in ancient works of *Śilpa* seem to have supplied the model. The beauty of the facial

paint is enhanced by a crown or head gear, a crest jewel, a pair of round disc like earrings (Kundala), bracelets, armlets, finger rings, nails of silver, a necklace, a garland, a girdle of the waist, a chain round the loins, belt or girdle, and a jingling pair of anklets. The loin dress consists usually of a skirt made of long pieces of white embroidered cloth interspersed with two or three red ones and tied round the waist ensuring absolute freedom of motion in acting and dancing; while the body is covered with a coloured vest over which round the neck hang one piece of red and a few pieces of white upper cloth known as *Uttariya*, the ends of which resemble inverted lotuses.

This kind of costume, though heavy, gives to the actors a stately dignity, and enables them to move with slow, graceful and measured gait on the stage. It is worthy of mention in this connection that there appears in the costume of the Kathakali a decided Mahommadan influence, which is more prominently noted in the dress and make-up of the female characters, whose costume in many respects resembles that of a typical Mōplah woman of Malabār. It is also not unlikely that the general scheme of the figure of the Kathakali actors has been influenced in its

conception by the old mural paintings in the temples of the land, and also by the dress and costume of the various folk dances of the country. But the greatest influence of the Kathakali was from *Chāṅkiār Kūthu* and *Kūtiyāttam*, two older dramatic representations whose history goes back to the period of the Perumals, the Imperial Suzerains of Kērala, and which preserve even to this day most of the traditions of the ancient classical Drama. The whole scheme of Abhinaya or acting, and the use of Mudrās (Hand Poses), and gestures were bodily adopted in Kathakali from them in addition to its borrowing and refinement of facial make-up and costume. The Kathakali became more attractive and popular than the “Chāṅkiār Kūthu” and “Kūtiyāttom” in course of time, as unlike them, its performance was not restricted to the precincts of the temple. There were also more elements of popular appeal in the Kathakali, particularly in its ‘Gīta’ (Music) which fascinated the audience and held them spell-bound. In short, there is a conglomeration of elements in the Kathakali, borrowed from various sources, but thoroughly improved upon and refined to produce a unique charm. Indeed, “the Kathakali is a wonderfully powerful and intensely dramatic art that can hold an audience in its grip for many hours without a break.”

As for the performance of Kathakali, we find there are no stage and scenic arrangements, except a small shed which is always necessary. The curtain consists of a large and thick piece of coloured cloth with the figure of a God or lotus generally drawn thereon. It is held at the two ends by two men standing on each side, and is drawn aside by one of them when a character appears on the stage. The auditorium consists of mats strewn on the floor for the audience to sit on ; while in the theatre two bell metal lamps are lighted with cocoanut oil and wicks of rolled cotton cloth. A wooden mortar turned upside down, or in its absence a stool, is all the furniture for the actors. The music on the stage is composed of the stentorian voice of the singers accompanied by their clanking cymbals and jingling gong in harmony with a stick beaten drum called 'Chendai' and a hand beaten "Maddalam" (a kind of booming drum).

A troupe of Kathakali players invariably consists of thirty men, of whom twelve are actors four singers, four drummers, and the rest are menial servants. Till very recently, most of the rich and old aristocratic families maintained separate troupes; and it is gratifying to note that

even now there is a troupe attached to the Palace of H. H. The Maharaja of Travancore who like His illustrious predecessors is a great patron of art and letters.

The performance of a Kathakali starts with "Kēlikottu," or an announcement towards sunset by the beat of drums, cymbals and gong. The painting of the actors' faces begins soon after. At about 9 P. M. the regular play begins with songs and sounding of drums inside the curtain. This is called "Thōdayam", which is followed by verses in praise of God (Vandanaslōkams). The introduction of the first character (Purappādu) comes next with a flourish of drum beats and sounding of conch. This is followed by songs from Gīta Gōvinda ("Manjutara"), to the accompaniment of music, when no actors appear on the stage. The interval between the appearance of characters is filled up by singing and drumming. A performance lasts from 8 to 10 hours almost till day break. Any violation of or deviation from the accepted code of signs, gestures and facial expressions is liable to provoke criticism. Music experts have admitted that the Kathakali contains the most exquisite songs, which if sung by a trained singer would gladden the hearts of

any one. There is sweet melody and harmony in them cast in different moods, stress being paid to 'Gamaka' or grace. On the whole, the Kathakali singer at his best is a musician and a voice producer ; and his singing which is generally slow in time with the notes going higher and higher, and rising in pitch and intensity as they proceed, pierces through the heart of the listener and transplants him to a region of other worldiness. In short, there is in the music of the Kathakali, a perfect combination of *Rāga* (tunes or melodies), *Tāla* (rhythm), *Svara* (Musical Note) and *Bhāva* (sentiment or feeling).

In a sense, the Kathakali may be considered as a primitive fore-runner of the modern movies. Both address themselves to the same element in human nature, the love of dumb narration ; and there can hardly be a worthier topic for moving pictures than this old world Drama of Malabār.

PART II

APPENDIX A.

Mudras (Hand Poses) in Kathakali.

Mudrā is a symbol of the hand—a visible sign, or representation of an idea, or the suggestion of an idea by resemblance or convention. It forms a sort of language in acting: and has a symbolism and significance in its usage. The function of Mudrās or symbols in histrionic art is therefore to express in outward manifestation the innermost ideas of the actor.

These Mudrās have been evolved from the old and elaborate ritualistic practices of the Hindus, and are codified in treatises on Dramaturgy. The special element in the art of Pantomime in Kērala consists of the marked and highly developed usage which is attributed to the Mudrās i. e., the symbols of the hand and fingers. The term Mudrā is borrowed from Hindu religious vocabulary: and signifies in its technical acceptance and connotation the poses that are given to the hands during the exposition of an idea. The hand poses (Mudrās) of the Kathakali form a sort of codified gesture language, like the language of the deaf and the dumb, and of savage tribes and



Hand Poses.

secret societies. The grammar of this language is rather elaborate; and the Mudrās are divided into two classes “Asamyukta” (single) and ‘Samyukta” (double).

In “Kathaklai” 64 Mudrās are said to be used, of which the following 24 are the most important. Their names and usage are indicated below.

A. PRIMARY.

I. PATĀKA (A) (Double) Usage : —

1. Sun
2. King
3. Elephant
4. Lion
5. Bull
6. Crocodile
7. Arch
8. Creeping plant or creeper
9. Flag
10. Wave
11. Street
12. Pātāla (region under the earth)
13. Earth
14. Hip
15. Vessel
16. Palace or mansion

17. Evening
18. Noon
19. Cloud
20. Anthill
21. Thigh
22. Servant
23. Leg
24. Moving wheel or disc
25. Seat
26. Thunderbolt (Vajra weapon)
27. Town-gate (Gōpura)
28. Building
29. Cart
30. Gentle
31. Crooked
32. Door
33. Pillow
34. Iron club
35. Surface of the foot
36. Bolt.

PATĀKA (B) (Single) Usage :—

1. Day
2. Walk
3. Tongue
4. Forehead
5. Body
6. Like or as

7. And
8. Messenger (Bhūta)
9. Sandy
10. Sprout

II. TRIPATĀKA (Double) Usage :—

1. Sunset
2. Commencement
3. Halo (form of gentle address)
4. Drink
5. Body
6. Begging

(Note: *Tripatāka* is shown always by both hands)

III. KARTARIMUKHA (A) (Double)

Usage :—

1. Sin
2. Fatigue
3. Brahmin
4. Fame
5. Pitcher (or the forehead of an elephant?)
6. House
7. A religious vow
8. Purification or purity
9. Bank
10. Dynasty (bamboo?)
11. Hunger

12. Hearing
13. Act of speaking (or speech)
14. Multitude or gathering
15. End
16. Hunting

Do - (B) (Single) Usage :—

1. Thou
2. Word
3. Time
4. Gradation or order
5. We
6. Man
7. Mouth
8. Enmity
9. Boy
10. Mongoose (Nakula?)

IV ARDHACHANDRA (A) (Double)

Usage :—

1. If
2. What
3. Helplessness
4. Sky
5. Blessedman
6. God
7. Remembrance
8. Grass

9. Man's hair

Do - (B) (Single) Usage :—

1. Starting
2. Smiling
3. What
4. Self praise?

V. ARĀLA (Double) Usage :—

1. Dull
2. Tree
3. Wedge
4. Bud
5. Sprout

VI. ŚUKATUNḌA (Double) Usage :—

1. Hand
2. Goad
3. Bird

N. B. (Always double hands)

VII. MUSHTI (A) (Double) Usage :—

1. Charioteer
2. Prefix
3. Loveliness
4. Holiness or purity
5. Spirit or ghost or any being
6. Imprisonment
7. Deserving
8. Existence

9. Heel or ankle
0. Attraction
11. Chowrie (insigma of Royalty
(Chāmara)
12. Yama or God of death
13. Mud
14. Medicine (or herb)
15. Curse
16. Swing or Hammock
17. Gift
18. Circumambulation
19. Digging
20. Renunciation
21. Spear
22. Heroism
23. Sun or fire?
24. Vomiting
25. Giving birth

Do - (B) (Single) Usage :—

1. In vain
2. Extreme or excessive
3. Fie upon
4. Minister
5. Crossing
6. Enduring
7. Gift
8. Permission

9. Victory (triumph)
10. Bow
11. We
12. Single sentence
13. Old age
14. Robbing
15. Food

VIII. SIKHARA (Double) Usage : —

1. Roaming
2. Legs
3. Eyes
4. Sight
5. Way
6. Search
7. Ears
8. Drink
9. Hands
10. Wonder
11. Time
12. Wheels

IX. KAPITTHA (Double) Usage : —

1. Trap or rein
2. Doubt
3. Feather of a peacock
4. Drink
5. Touch

6. Going back (recede)
7. Outside
8. Back
9. Descending (getting down)
10. Footstep

X. KATAKĀMUKHA (Double) Usage:—

1. Coat
2. Servant
3. Hero
4. Wrestler
5. Shooting an arrow
6. Arrest

XI. (A) SŪCHĪ MUKHA (Double) Usage

1. Broken
2. Jumping upwards
3. Word
4. Lakshmana
5. Fall
6. Month
7. Elsewhere (on the other side)
8. Eye-brow
9. Loose
10. Tail

Do - (B) (Single) Usage:—

1. Single
2. Alas !

3. Dull
4. Another
5. Plural
6. Hearing (ear)
7. A digit of the moon
8. Ancient
9. This one
10. Kingdom
11. Little
12. Witness
13. Giving up
14. Come thou
15. Go thou
16. Fight

XII. MUDRĀ (A) (Double) Usage:—

1. Growth
2. Movement
3. Heaven
4. Sea
5. Thick or dense
6. Forgetting
7. All
8. Announcement
9. Thing or object
10. Death
11. Meditation
12. Sacred thread worn by Dvijās or Brahmins

13. Straight

Do - (B) (Single) Usage :—

1. Mind
2. Thinking
3. Desire
4. Self
5. Recollection
6. Knowledge or wisdom
7. Creation
8. Life
9. Disgrace or defame
10. Future
11. Negative
12. The fourth

XIII. SARPASÍRASU (Single or Double)

Usage :—

1. Sandal paste
2. Snake
3. Slowness
4. Sprinkle
5. Cherishing
6. Giving water to God
7. Saint or sage
8. The flapping of elephant's ears
9. Massage of wrestlers

XIV. MRIGASĪRSHA (Single) Usage:—

1. Deer (animal)
2. Supreme being

XV. (a) AṆJALI (Double) Usage:—

1. Heavy rain
2. Vomiting
3. Fire
4. Stream
5. Vibration (loud noise)
6. Brightness
7. Hair
8. Ear-ring
9. Heat or sorrow
10. Confusion
11. Always
12. River-bathing
13. Flowing
14. Blood

(b) (Single) Usage:—

1. Conch
2. Anger

XVI. PALLAVA (A) (Double) Usage:—

1. Vajra
2. Summit of a mountain
3. Ears of the cow
4. Length of the eye

5. Buffalo
6. Iron club
7. Spear
8. Horn
9. Circling

Do - (B) (Single) Usage:—

1. Distance
2. Leaf
3. Fume or smoke
4. Tail
5. Rattan
6. Paddy

XVII. MUKURA (A) (Double) Usage:—

1. Tusk or fang
2. Separation
3. Part of the leg from the ankle to the knee
4. The buttock of a woman
5. Vēda
6. Brother
7. Pillar
8. Mortar
9. Rapid or violent
10. Piśācha (devil)
11. Growth or nourishment.

Mukura (B) (Single) Usage:—

1. Enemy

2. Beetle
3. Ray
4. Anger
5. Excellent
6. Bangle
7. Neck
8. Armlet
9. Negative

XVIII. BHRAMARA (A) (Double)

Usage :—

1. Feather
2. Song
3. Water
4. Umbrella
5. Ear of the elephant

Do. (B) (single) Usage :—

1. Gandharva
2. Birth
3. Fear
4. Weeping

XIX. HAMSĀSYA (A) (Double)

Usage :—

1. Eye-ball
2. Soft
3. Dust
4. Pale white
5. Blue

6. Red
7. Mercy
8. Tuft of hair or a line of hair on the abdomen

Do. (B) (Single) Usage :—

1. The first rain
2. Hair
3. The line of hair on the abdomen
4. The three folds of skin above the navel of a woman

XX HAMSAPAKSHA (A) (Double)
Usage :—

1. Moon
2. Cupid
3. Wind
4. Dēva (Heavenly being)
5. Mountain
6. Summit
7. Everlasting
8. Relation
9. Bedding
10. Rock
11. Enjoyment
12. Breast
13. Female breast
14. Cloth

15. Conveyance
16. Falsehood (lie)
17. Lying down
18. Fall
19. People
20. Beating
21. Covering
22. Spreading
23. Founding
24. Coming
25. Bowing down
26. Bathing
27. Sandal paste
28. Embracing
29. Following
30. Protecting
31. Reading
32. Mace
33. Cheek
34. Shoulder
35. Hair
36. Obedient
37. Blessing
38. Sage
39. Thus
40. Fish
41. Worship
42. Tortoise

Hamsapaksha (B) (Single) Usage :—

1. You
2. Sword
3. Wrath
4. Now
5. I
6. In front
7. Axe
8. Flame or light
9. Call
10. Getting on the lap
11. Prevent

XXI. VARĀHAMĀNA (A) (Double)

Usage :—

1. Ear-rings of a female
2. Jewelled garland
3. Knee
4. A contemplating sage
5. Drum
6. Elephant driver

Do. (B) (Single) Usage : —

1. A whirl pool
2. Navel
3. Well

XXII. MUKULA (Single or Double)

Usage :—

1. Jackal
2. Monkey
3. Fading
4. Forgetting

XXIII. ŪRṆANĀBHA (Double) Usage:—

1. Horse
2. Fruit
3. Leopard (tiger)
4. Butter
5. Ice
6. Abundance
7. Lotus

XXIV. KATAKA (A) (Double) Usage:—

1. Viṣṇu
2. Kṛiṣṇa
3. Balabhadra
4. Arrow
5. Gold
6. Silver
7. A female demon
8. Sleep
9. Lady in prominence
10. Śrī or wealth
11. Vīṇa or lute
12. Star
13. Garland
14. Lotus or water lily

15. Demon
16. Crown
17. Iron club
18. Particular
19. Chariot
20. With

Do. (B) (Single) Usage :—

1. Flower
2. Mirror
3. Female
4. Hōma (offering oblations to Dēvās
into the sacred fire)
5. Sweat
6. Little
7. Who
8. Which or what
9. Quiver
10. Fragrance

B. SECONDARY

There are said to be 40 combined Mudras also which are the following :—

1. KATAKA-MUSHTI indicating widowhood, cohabitation, fight, Śrī Rāma, gift of a woman.

2. SIKHARA-MUSHTI indicating
Indra (God of Dēvas)
3. HAMSASYA-MUSHTI indicating
lover (or any object of love)
4. KATAKA-HAMSAPAKSHA indi-
cating Brahma (Lord of creation)
5. MRIGASĪRSHA - HAMSAPAK-
SHA indicating Śiva.
6. MUDRA-MUSHTI indicating Father,
Commander-in-chief (Sēnāpati)
7. KATAKA-HAMSAPAKSHA in-
dicating mother, lady in waiting.
8. MUDRA-PATĀKA indicating a
mark.
9. HAMSAPAKSHA-PATĀKA indi-
cating agreeable to mind.
10. MUKULA-MUSHTI indicating that
which is to be done ; wife, marri-
age.
11. ŚIKHARA—Variation, indicating
Garuda.
12. MUKULA—Variation, indicating
end.
13. VARDHAMANA ANJALI indi-
cating precious Stones.

14. KATAKANJALI indicating play
(pastime)
15. SUCHĪMUKA ANJALI indicating
picture.
16. KARTTARIMUKKA MUDRA
indicating son, grand-son.
17. KATAKA SŪCHĪMUKHA indi-
cating daughter.
18. VARDHAMĀNA HAMSA-PAK-
SHA indicating nector.
19. MUDRA PALLAVA indicating
Hand device.
20. KATAKA (all varieties) indicating
womanhood.
21. KATAKA MUKURA indicating
Handsome lady.
22. MUSHTI (Variation) indicating des-
truction.
23. ŚIKHARA HAMSA PAKSHA
indicating middle.
24. PATĀKA KARTARIMUKHA
indicating prince.
25. KARTARIMUKHA MUSHTI indi-
cating Vidyadhara (celestial being)

26. HAMSAPAKSHA MUSHTI indicating Yaksha.
27. ARDHACHANDRA MUSHTI indicating moon at the zenith of the sky.
28. KARTARI KATAKA indicating science.
29. HAMSASYA PATĀKA indicating Kāvya.
30. PATĀKA KATAKA indicating residence, cow.
31. KARTARI KATAKA indicating virgin.
32. SIKHARA ANJALI indicating Śrī Vatsa (the mole on the breast of Lord Vishnu.)
33. VARDHAMĀNA HAMSASYA indicating nether lip.
34. PATĀKA MUSHTI indicating killing, hindrance.
35. PATĀKA MUKULAM indicating Sugrīva, Bāli, Angada.
36. HAMSAPAKSHA (both hands) indicating Monkeys, Hanuman etc.
37. PATĀKA KARTARIMUKHA indicating town, Rāvana.

38. ANJALI KATAKA indicating Yagā
(Holy sacrifice)
 39. PALLAVA MUSHTI indicating
hand.
 40. KATAKA-MUDRA indicating truth,
Dharma.
-

APPENDIX B.

Sentiments or Emotions in Kathakali.

The sentiments or emotions in Kathakali are nine in number. They are called Rasās; and they are each represented as follows:—

ŚRINGARA is the original sex emotion which lies at the very root of creation. It is expressed by means of the movements of the eyebrows, eyes, lips and cheeks, and by a peculiar pose of the hand..

VĪRA Valour or heroism is expressed by raising the eyebrows with wide open eyes, and the neck and face held erect.

KARUNA Pathos, is represented by raising the pupils of the eyes upwards to a corner, with the hands held in worshipful posture.

Note. Sōka or sense of grief comes under Karuṇa and is a Variant of it. It is indicated by contracting the size of the eyes,

and by the lowering and intermittent quivering of the lips.

ADBHUTA the sense of wonder, is shown by the quivering of the eyebrows along with the nodding of the neck and head. The eyes also should be adjusted with these movements, and the lips drawn out a bit.

ROUDRA wrath, is indicated by wide open eyes, the eyeballs held in the centre with a fiery and piercing look, and the cheeks throbbing with an occasional biting of the teeth.

HĀSYA ridicule or contempt is expressed by curving the eyebrows and shrinking the eyes along with a jerking of the neck and head.

BHAYANAKA fear is represented by the constant moving of the eyeballs left and right, the eyes wide open and the head and neck jerked: while the hands are folded and placed on the breast.

BĪBHATSA the sense of the grotesque, is shown by contracting the eyebrows and eyes, with the hands extended to show the palm, and the breast held back a bit.

SANTA peace, (also devotion) is manifested by contracting the eyes, and holding them up with the chin, face and neck lowered and hung.

APPENDIX C.

The Dance in Kathakali.

The dance in Kathakali has a charming and profound interest. It accompanies acting or Abhinaya, and heightens the natural expression and impressiveness of the gestures and movement, of the actors by its grace. Its essence is rhythm produced by the joyous beat of the feet which mark the time by thumps of the heel or slaps of the flat foot on the ground in tune with the music of the stage. It is of two kinds:- TĀNDAVA upward and downward movement, and LĀSYA sideways movement. In both there is a poignancy and variety of appeal.

The dance of the Kathakali actor carries with it the supreme symbol of his original martial life, and is to a large extent a manifestation of that life. Its significance lies in the fact that it has an intimate concrete appeal of a general rhythm pervading the whole acting, and helping varied emotional expression by sharp bodily movements and gestures.

In Kathakali, the story is put into verse which is sung and acted on the stage. The actor dances to the tune of the songster and

drummer, and every movement of his Dance is executed with well-defined steps. The acting of every verse is decimated by a *Kalāśa* (finishing steps), which consists of a graceful and vigorous circular movement by the feet, in which there is a brilliant display of dexterous stamping and leaping.

The Kathakali dance is always based on the *Tāla* (time measure) of the drummers ; and sometimes in the case of expert actors, the mode in the beat of their feet guides and regulates the *Tala* of the drumming and other instrumental music. The actor may do the *Kalāśa* steps once to a measure, or he may double and quadruple the steps.

The *Tāla* is mainly of five varieties, consisting of eight, ten, fourteen, seven or six intervals (measures) marked generally by counting of fingers and beating of the hands. The principle *Tālas* with their notations are indicated below.

(Note : — represents beat of the hands.

✓ Do. wave of the hands.

— Do. counting of fingers.

/ Do. a measure.

Adi (Chempata)

$\overline{1}$ $\overline{2}$ $\overline{3}$ $\overline{4}$ $\overline{5}$ $\overline{6}$ $\overline{7}$ $\overline{8}$ 8 intervals.

Chempa (Jumpa)

$\overline{1}$ $\overline{2}$ $\overline{3}$ $\overline{4}$ $\overline{5}$ $\overline{6}$ $\overline{7}$ $\overline{8}$ $\overline{9}$ $\overline{10}$ 10 intervals.

Atanta (Ata)

$\overline{1}$ $\overline{2}$ $\overline{3}$ $\overline{4}$ $\overline{5}$ $\overline{6}$ $\overline{7}$ $\overline{8}$ $\overline{9}$ $\overline{10}$ $\overline{11}$ $\overline{12}$ $\overline{13}$ $\overline{14}$
14 intervals.

Tripata (Muri Atanta)

7 intervals.

$\overline{1}$ $\overline{2}$ $\overline{3}$ $\overline{4}$ $\overline{5}$ $\overline{6}$ $\overline{7}$

Panchāri (Roopaka)

$\overline{1}$ $\overline{2}$ $\overline{3}$ $\overline{4}$ $\overline{5}$ $\overline{6}$ 6 intervals.

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CASTE AND DEMOCRACY

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
INTRODUCTORY - - - - -	7
I. THE ORIGINS AND PRINCIPLES OF CASTE -	9
II. THE IDEALS AND METHODS OF DEMOCRACY	26
III. THE FUTURE OF CASTE IN INDIA - -	33

INTRODUCTORY

FEW people will deny that Hindu society is now facing a crisis unparalleled in Indian history. The political ideas of democracy and liberty and the conception of equal civic rights which Great Britain has given to India have directly challenged the basic principles of Hindu social structure. The visible results of this conflict are not in any way proportionate to the inward agitation which is producing fundamental changes within the fold of Hindu life. Customs and traditions followed for centuries and hallowed by tradition are being subjected to rigorous criticism and examination. One by one, the main characteristics of Hindu social life, such as caste, the joint family system, compulsory marriage of female children, etc., are being modified both by legislative action and the compelling pressure of social opinion, with the result that to-day the advocates of orthodoxy are content to be on the defence and realise that they are fighting a losing battle.

To the outside observer, these tendencies are not always evident. An occasional incident like Mahatma Gandhi's fast, meant to arouse the conscience of the caste Hindus to the condition of the untouchables, enables him to catch a glimpse of the powerful currents of opinion flowing beneath the surface of Indian society. But the steady progress of social ideals cannot be judged by dramatic events of that nature. What provides a truer index are the legislative proposals seriously pressed before the Central and Provincial Councils. The Hindu Civil Marriage Bill of Dr. Gour goes directly against the basic

postulates of caste. Mr. Jayakar's Bill for securing to each individual the fruits of his learning, even though such learning was acquired with the assistance of the joint family, is a measure meant to undermine the crude collectivism of the Hindu family system. The Hindu religious Endowment Act of Madras cuts at the very root of Brahmin predominance by placing the Hindu Temples under the authority of a Board whose membership is not confined to the priestly class. These and other measures constitute incontestable evidence not merely of the fact of a social revolt from the accepted traditions of the past, but of the strength and volume of opinion behind the movement and the steady and pervasive character of its influence.

To say, however, that caste, which is the most powerful institution of the Hindus, is a dead or dying institution would be an unwarranted exaggeration. To belittle the social and political importance of this system would be to under-estimate the extraordinary power of adjustment that Hindu society has always shown. Caste exists in India and is undoubtedly the most dynamic factor in the life of the Indian people. It regulates the daily life of the entire Hindu population and has undoubtedly affected the outlook of other communities.

But while the system of caste is the dominating influence in her social life, the tidal wave of democracy is sweeping the political life of India. The problem which India has to face is whether caste and democracy are incompatible forces, utterly opposed to and completely destructive of each other ; whether a democratic state can co-exist with a society based on caste ; whether the direct effects or even the implications of democracy are not irreconcilable with caste as a social force. No definite answer is possible to a question of this nature without a clear analysis of the principles and assumptions of each of these institutions.

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGINS AND PRINCIPLES OF CASTE

CASTE is an institution peculiar to India. Racial, social and occupational divisions of classes exist elsewhere, but they differ fundamentally from the peculiar social structure of India. Caste is not merely a principle of social division, but a comprehensive system of life, dealing with food, marriage, education, association and worship. It is a religion rather than a changing social order. Its non-observance is met with condign punishment and the rigidity with which its rules are enforced could put to shame even the Grand Inquisition.

The main facts with regard to the origin of caste¹ on which there is general agreement are as follows: At a time known vaguely as the Vedic period, a fair coloured people, who called themselves Aryans, entered India from the north-west side. The evidence afforded by the Rig Veda conclusively proves that when the Aryans first entered India and settled down in the Punjab, they had no developed system of caste. It is also commonly accepted that India at that time was peopled

¹ The origin and history of caste are buried in a mist of conjectures. The orthodox Hindu explanation is that the Brahmins came out of the head, the Kshatriyas from the hand, the Vaisyas from the thigh and the Sudras from the feet of God. This, however, is only an allegorical interpretation of the functions performed by the four main castes and not a historical explanation as to how they originated.

All the suggested explanations such as division of labour, guild system, etc., are only partial. Any student of Indian history would recognise the inadequacy of treating the question of caste apart from the racial problem of India.

by a race which was darker in colour. The country was sparsely populated and the pre-Aryan inhabitants of India, whether they lived in towns as the recent discoveries in Harappa and Mahenja Daro prove, or in tribal organisations, lived far apart from each other without the cohesion and communal unity of the invading Aryans. The contact between the two races resulted in the conquest of the Aborigines of North India by force of arms, and thus came into existence the primary difference of caste—the *Varna Bheda* or the difference in colour.

The vital line of differentiation in the caste system does not lie in the four *varnas* as is generally supposed, but in the division between the twice-born Aryans (*Dwijas*) and the Soodras, who are only born once. The second birth among the Aryans is without doubt a *rite de passage* as explained by M. Van Gennepp, the ritual initiation which alone would give a man his rights in society. The Soodras, or the conquered Dravidians, were kept out of this rite as the Aborigines of Melanesia are even now kept out of the rites of the invading "Kava people."

Thus the division in the early days was based entirely on colour and ritual. But soon a tendency which seems to be a characteristic of all primitive societies began to assert itself. Sir James Frazer in his *Golden Bough* has shown conclusively that the evolution of the magicians as a class with supreme authority in matters of religion, is an inevitable stage in early social evolution. The tendency soon became evident in the Aryan community of *Dwijas*. A process of increasing differentiation began to manifest itself among the *twice-born* as a result of the development of a definitely magical cult from the inchoate mass of religious feeling which found expression in the *Rig Veda*. The composition of the *Yajur* and *Atharva Vedas* shows a state of society in which complicated and elaborate sacrificial rites and ceremonies have already taken the place of the pure and undiluted animism of the early Aryans. By a pretended mastery of these sacrificial

and magical powers, the Brahmins soon became a powerful and sacerdotal hierarchy.

When once the Brahmins were differentiated as a class, they soon came to develop a group consciousness which operated against the other Dwija castes no less than against the Soodras. The perpetuation of class predominance became the Brahmins' main concern. The rules of caste which gave the Brahmins unquestioned social supremacy were consciously evolved and worked out and their enforcement was given a religious sanction.

The origin of caste in Southern India is naturally different. Before the Aryans ventured south of the Vindhya, the caste system had taken its final shape. The Aryan invasion of Southern India was not military : rather it was a peaceful penetration. As the Dravidian communities of Southern India were gradually subjected to the onslaught of a different cultural type, a slow transformation took place in their composition. All the evidence we have of the pre-Aryan society of South India goes against the hypothesis that the Dravidian communities were united in any form of a single or powerful political state. They seem to have lived in groups, some of which like the Reddis, Vellalas and Nayars had attained considerable tribal military power. The slow imposition of Hindu culture on them took many centuries and in the case of some of them, it has never been effectual or complete. The tribes were left much as they were, but as the caste system had already come to be considered as a universal system, these tribes had to be declared Soodras, though in fact they maintained a very high social position and admitted only reluctantly the superiority of the Brahmins.

Such in bare outline seems to be the origin of caste in its wider significance. An illustrious French writer, Mons. Senart, has tried to prove that the system of caste is the Aryan solution of the problem of racial contact, and that the institution was developed in the attempt of the invading races to adapt themselves to their surroundings in

India. By a comparative study of the Aryan institutions in Greece and Rome, M. Senart has established the fact that the elements of caste were developed even in those communities. The pride of blood, the distinction between the conqueror and the conquered, the formation of different groups owing to geographical conditions, these are the complex factors by which M. Senart has tried to explain the origin of caste. But this does not explain the two cardinal points in the caste system, namely, the ascendancy of the Brahmins over the other Aryan classes, and, secondly, the importance of the so-called Soodras in Southern India. Racial antagonism *alone* would not explain the caste system. It originated undoubtedly in the difference in race, but its later development was due to the group consciousness of the Brahmins.

The social structure of caste has not been the spontaneous outcome of a historical evolution, the adaptation of a society to its surroundings. On the other hand, all through its history the conscious purpose of a group at work can be observed, and in its later developments there is no doubt that the caste system has been the attempted solution of fundamental social problems by an oligarchy of priests intent first on preserving its own power, and, secondly, in keeping down for ever the Soodra and aboriginal castes over whom their sway had extended. To this solution, a religious as well as a legislative sanction was given, and, entrenched behind the irresistible power of spiritual authority, the caste system gradually embraced the whole outlook and narrowed the activity of the Hindu society. The final establishment of caste as the universal and accepted principle of social organisation in the entire society was a revolution of the first magnitude.

Whatever the origin of caste, the main principles that underlie it are clear and definite. The theorists of social life in ancient India have left no room for doubt as to the meaning of the principles of which the caste system is the visible expression. In examining these, we shall have to consider caste not only as it is described by Manu and

other ancient writers, but as it is understood and practised at the present time. That is, we shall have to examine the caste system both in its static and dynamic aspects.

The first and basic principle of caste is the inequality of mankind based on birth. The Brahmins by their birth are superior to the rest, and the superiority and inferiority of man depend upon the caste in which he is born. Indeed, the idea of irremovable inequality based on birth is so organically connected with caste that it may well be described as the main characteristic which differentiates it from class organisations in other countries. Everywhere else a man may rise from the class in which he is born, may even rise to the very top of the social order under favourable conditions. In India, the stigma of a man's caste sticks to him for ever.¹ The effect of this principle in establishing social classes on a different footing from castes is a problem which cannot be discussed here. But even where men of comparatively low caste attain social position, as in the case of Soodra Ruling Princes and landholders, the inferiority of caste is a factor of which they are reminded at all ceremonial and religious functions. The case of the Maharajas of Travancore who perform the peculiar but significant ceremony of being re-born through a golden cow (which is then given away to the Brahmins) in order to attain the rank of a twice-born, may be cited to prove this fact.

This principle of social inequality operated against the vast majority of the population: for it should never be forgotten that the higher castes form only a small minority of India's population. The Soodras were denied the right of education and even of liberal occupations: while the untouchables, who were outside the pale of caste, were treated as a conquered slave community without even

¹ This inequality based on birth is still a fact governing everyday relations. A Soodra, if he employs a Brahmin servant in Southern India, still addresses him as Swami, or Lord, and in North India as Maharaj.

ordinary human rights. The Brahmin sociologists and philosophers responsible for this social structure were fully aware of the dangers which may result from so flagrant a denial of rights to the great majority. This condemnation to eternal servitude had to be justified, and some plausible explanation had to be given to the victims. That was easy enough as the Brahmins, with great insight, kept the Soodras in ignorance and superstition. The policy which the Brahmins followed in this connection is analysed in some detail in a later section. They also realised that unless the masses could, by some method, be made to believe in the *justice* of the caste system, their own domination would be continually menaced and gradually undermined. Here also the subtle mind of the Brahmin found a solution in the fatalistic philosophy embodied in the theory of Karma and its fantastic corollary of the transmigration of souls. The Brahmin explained that birth on which the inequality of castes is based is not an accident of which we need complain, as being something beyond our power to mend or for which we are not responsible. This present life of ours is the outcome of the actions of our past lives and for it, therefore, we are ourselves responsible. Besides, it lies within our power to be the architects of our *future* lives by accepting the limitations which birth and, therefore, caste has set over us. This theory was an appeal to justice. It placed the responsibility of the social and political disabilities of the lower castes on their own past lives. It invested the superiority enjoyed by the Brahmins with the appearance of just reward for their former good lives. This explanation also gave a hope—chimerical no doubt, but psychologically of the highest value—that in the course of many successive lives the lowest caste man can, if he but accept the superiority of the Brahmins now and here and recognise them as the sole repositories of human wisdom entitled to worship and obedience, attain Brahminhood himself. Thus the exclusion of castes does not operate behind the curtain where the principle of transmigration

is settled. In that world the castes mingle, and the unseen god of the Brahmins *allots after death* the punishments and rewards by degradation and promotions within the caste system. Thus according to the theory of transmigration which is the philosophic justification of caste, it is only in the world of the dead that a man may rise in the hierarchy of caste and attain ultimate equality with the highest in a *future* life.

The caste system in its dynamic aspects always had a professional background, and hence the idea of the inequality of professions which constitutes its second basic principle. The ideal of liberal professions has existed everywhere, but so thorough and systematic arrangement of professions in a descending scale is a unique characteristic of the social system of India. It requires no argument to prove that it is a false basis on which to build a social system to grade professions in an order of merit and to deprive all except the priest and the warrior of social and political influence. While social opinion considered all professions except those of the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas as unworthy, it offered no chance for any one born in one profession to take up another. The professions being strictly exclusive of one another, the caste organisations insisted on the children of a cobbler, for instance, following the profession of their father. A washerman, even if he desired, could not train his son to be a blacksmith, and this custom, while it might have resulted in the attainment of a high degree of professional efficiency among the craftsmen, tended without doubt to create a complete immobility in the ranks of the working classes.

The absence of any element of choice in regard to one's occupation in life and the arbitrary distinction about the dignity of various professions and the consequent social inequality, are essential characteristics of the economic aspects of caste system. Hence, the argument which the apologists of the system of inequality often put forward that the relative position of men in caste-society is regu-

lated not by birth, but merely by the social value of their profession, is completely refuted by the fact that the choice of the profession itself is regulated by birth.

A third and equally important principle on which caste is based, and without which caste as an institution could not have lasted long, is the absolute and rigid social exclusion between the four main castes and the equally rigid, if not so absolute an exclusion of their many subdivisions between themselves. The prohibition of marriage except in one's own caste, and the extreme rigorousness of the punishment meted out to all marriage outside caste are of the essence of the system. The critics who say that this regulation with regard to marriage only emphasises the primary characteristic of caste as resulting from the co-existence of two races, one of which claimed superiority over the other, are only partially right. The question of caste in the beginning may have been a question of race, but as we have said before, it soon became a question of the social supremacy of a class. The prohibition that Aryan women should not be married to Soodra men may be merely the legal sanction given to the feeling of extreme hostility which exists in all European countries to the marriage of European women to coloured men, and to the practical prohibition of such unions enforced in United States and South Africa where the races exist side by side. But if it is merely a question of race, what then is the reason for prohibiting marriages even between Kshatriya men and Brahmin women? The reasons are more fundamental and complicated, and it is obvious that the elaborate provisions with regard to exogamy and endogamy cannot be explained by any one formula. The idea of superiority and inferiority of races certainly existed; but some survivals of tribal exogamy and endogamy belonging to the conquered inhabitants must also have been borrowed.

The question of the origins of these prohibitions do not, however, enter into our problem. That they constitute an essential feature of the Hindu system of society will be

admitted on all hands. What has been the result of the operation of the principle underlying these prohibitions? It has broken up the Hindu community not only into four main castes, but into innumerable minor groups, each marrying only within its circle, dining only with its castemen and claiming superiority over all others. Within the Hindu society, therefore, this system of marriage has introduced a basis for innumerable cross divisions. We might explain this by saying that the horizontal divisions of the Hindus into four *Varnas*, are each of them again divided vertically into innumerable sections, as a result of which the Hindu has become an abstraction, a sociological fiction.

The passage from the barbarous to the civilised state of existence has been marked everywhere by an extension of the circle of social activity, or, in the words of Mons. Durkheim, by the widening of the symbiotic circle. In primitive societies, the individual stands related either to the family, or to the tribe which is only family on a totemic basis. The progress of human civilisation is based on the extension of the circle of thought and activity. Though this indubitably is the universal rule, in India, after the Hindu society passed through its early stages of civilisation the process was soon reversed. The symbiotic circle, instead of being widened, was continuously narrowed by a system of marriage regulations. The wider social activity of the individual found no scope. The collective consciousness of social life which is the creative force of civilising activity and is, therefore, responsible for the highest forms of human endeavour, tended to vanish as the marriage restrictions developed more and more.

These three conceptions—inequality based on birth, gradation of professions and their inequality, and the restrictions on marriage outside one's own sub-group—are the bases and constitute the differentiating characteristics of caste. All the ramifications of this great institution can be traced to one of these three ideas.

They have one thing in common between them, and that is the principle of inequality. Throughout the whole system permeates the dogma of Brahminic superiority. This is the foundation on which the whole edifice is erected.

The maintenance of institutions based on such obviously unjust principles, involved a conscious and deliberate policy, political, religious and educational, on the part of the Brahmins. In order to safeguard their interests, it was necessary for them to dominate the councils of the State, to mould the religious development and control the educational machinery and literature of the community. This the Brahmins tried to do, and we know that they have been eminently successful from the fact that their predominance in Hindu social life continues unbroken even to the present time. For more than 3,000 years the Brahmins have maintained, disturbed hardly by a murmur, a complete and unquestioned sway over the masses of the Hindu population. They have kept under their supremacy many millions of their own race, and the masses have acquiesced without protest to their authority and social tyranny. Great Britain takes pride in having ruled the subordinate races of the Empire to their contentment for nearly 100 years. But the Brahmin community of India to-day can proudly say that they have exercised more comprehensive, more real power among the Hindu population of India for over 3,000 years, and that often despite the loss of apparent political power. In fact, caste is social Imperialism—perfected by experience and maintained by religious sanction.

What are the methods and instruments by which the system of caste has maintained itself so long? An examination of the system of education, the distribution of political power and the character of the religious organisations of India will provide the answer.

We have noticed before that as soon as the Brahmins came to be differentiated as a class, they came to feel a group consciousness. They became an inelastic and privi-

leged oligarchy and consequently like all oligarchies developed a code of honour, conduct and morality meant primarily for the purpose of perpetuating their class predominance. This implied on the one hand that within the class itself the oligarchy would improve both intellectually and morally; on the other, it would try to extirpate ideas, conceptions and methods of action, even the distant effects of which might threaten the dominance of the class. Two kinds of education, two kinds of literature, two codes of morality, two kinds of law, these would naturally result. That such was the case in Hindu India can easily be shown.

The educational system of ancient India is worth a close examination as exemplifying the method by which the caste system perpetuated itself. That it was a status education need hardly be proved. In fact, it was more than that. It confined education to the Brahmins and the higher castes. "Knowledge is the property of the Brahmin to be guarded like treasure and to be imparted only to Brahmins."¹ A Soodra was not even allowed to hear the words of the Vedas and the punishment for so great a crime as hearing the sounds of the chanting of the Vedic hymns was mutilation. This monopoly of the Brahmins in all knowledge and the deliberate exclusion of others from its possession are the most striking facts with regard to ancient Indian education. Secondly, all the books were written in Sanskrit, a language confined almost entirely to the Brahmins. The language of the people was Prakrit, which at that time was not considered a fit medium for literary activity. The result was that all intellectual activity was confined to the Brahmins who were, moreover, fed and maintained at the expense of the community. Feeding a Brahmin was one of the highest forms of recognised piety and thus they alone had the necessary leisure for study. The strict exclusion of the masses from the schools and the insistence on Sanskrit as the medium of education and higher thought, even when the common

¹ Manu 2, 115.

people spoke another language, witness unmistakably to the class character of Brahmin educational policy. Its object was to hide from the common people the facts from which the Brahmins derived their authority and the basis on which they maintained their supremacy, and to confine the sources of knowledge solely to their class. A literate Soodra was, according to an old Sanskrit proverb, to be avoided like a drunken man or a mad bull—an idea bearing a family resemblance to the Englishman's contempt for the educated Indian to-day.

The rise of Buddhism was a direct challenge to Brahmin supremacy in all its aspects. The Buddha denied the pretensions of the Brahmin to spiritual greatness and exposed the hollowness of the imposing and elaborate rituals and ceremonials with which the sacerdotalism of the Brahmins had been surrounded. More than even this, the Buddha attacked the root of the problem when he addressed his message directly to the masses by preaching in their own language. Buddhism was a popular movement and its educational policy was essentially democratic. The Universities of Nalanda, Taxila and Pataliputra clearly attest to this fact. The Brahmins recognised at last that their position could be maintained only if they also could have a programme equally popular and directly addressed to the masses. The policy of completely excluding the other castes from intellectual activity could not be maintained against an enemy whose strength was based on the masses. Hence the growth of a new popular literature, meant entirely for the consumption of the general public, explaining and justifying the predominance of the Brahmins and taking as its fundamental doctrine the necessity of worshipping Brahmins as *Bhoo devas* or gods on earth.

This is the explanation for the central paradox of Indian culture—the co-existence of a high civilisation with the crudest and most primitive superstitions. European scholars have ridiculed the Hindu ideas “the seas of treacle and the seas of butter,” about the sun

going round an imaginary mount Meru. Side by side with books which seriously discussed such mythological descriptions of an imaginary world, there also existed books in which these subjects were treated in a scientific manner and all questions discussed on the basis of logic and experience. The *Puranas*, the *Itihasas* and other text books of neo-Hinduism were in fact a literature meant for the education of the people from which all ideas that in any way militated against the authority of the Brahmins were strictly kept out, and explanations suitable to the ascendancy of their class were fabricated in all the realms of manners, ethic and science under the guise of religion. Never were indeed the religious instincts of man so shamelessly prostituted, nor religion itself made to deserve more clearly the Marxian indictment of being an opiate of the people.

The Brahmins as law-givers were equally conscious of their class. Manu, Yajnavalkya, Narada and other *smritis* which treat of the laws governing the Hindu community, frankly repudiate the principle of equality and are based on the idea of the Brahmin being above law. The following illustrations prove this fact conclusively.

According to Baudhayana the law-giver (as quoted in *Guryle*, p. 212), "Stealing the gold of a Brahmin and the killing of a Brahmin are most heinous crimes. Raising one's hand or weapon in anger against a Brahmin, actually striking him, unintentionally killing him, wilfully murdering him, were offences in the ascending scale of heinousness." Wilful murder was, of course, inexpiable. The Brahmin was exempt from corporal punishment. A Brahmin had, according to law, the right of taking away a Soodra's property. Even now in orthodox Hindu States (e.g. Travancore, Kashmir, etc.), the Brahmin is considered so sacred in his person that he could not be hanged even for murder. As against this, the punishment meted out to the lower castes, for crimes against Brahmin supremacy, was savage beyond measure. As *Guryle* summarises: "If a Soodra recites the Veda his tongue is

to be cut off. If he assumes a position of equality with twice-born men, either in sitting, conversing, or going along the road, he shall receive corporal punishment. A Soodra committing adultery with women of the first three castes shall suffer capital punishment, or shall be burnt alive tied up with straw. . . . If a Soodra intentionally reviles a Brahmin or criminally assaults him, the limb with which he offends shall be cut off " (p. 52).

In fact, it should be obvious even to the casual student that the entire Hindu legal system was devised with a view to perpetuate the ascendancy of the Brahmins and to make any attempt by the other castes to acquire social prestige, political power or even education, a capital crime against society. The worship of the Brahmin is thus promulgated by law. As Vishnu, the law-giver, says: "The gods are invisible deities, the Brahmins are the visible deities; the Brahmins sustain the world. It is by the favour of the Brahmins that the gods reside in the heavens; a speech uttered by Brahmins never fails to come true . . . when the visible gods are pleased the invisible gods are surely pleased as well."

Education and law, however, were not the chief instruments of Brahmin ascendancy. Their most efficient weapon lay in the use of the religious machinery of which they had established the exclusive possession. Brahmins alone held the key to the attainment of eternal salvation and this monopoly together with the dissemination of the fantastic philosophy of the illusoriness of this world and the reality of the next, placed in their hands an instrument more powerful and more comprehensive than anything known in the civilised world. It is true that the Brahmins did not burn the heretics; but they took good care that there should be no heretics. Individual conscience on matters of religion was punished with the most rigid excommunication, which in earlier times led to the complete exclusion of the offending individual from his own caste and family, and in later times to his conversion to other religions.

What were the general results of this institution of caste, of this all-embracing system of life which regulated one's religion, marriage and food? For everyone it brought final downfall. The Brahmins, while they developed intellectually, lost the consciousness of the community in the class. The lower classes following blindly the lead of custom, relapsed into a state of semi-barbarism where they stoically faced all their misfortunes as a result of their Karma. The feeling of social solidarity existed only in the sense of a rigid, stationary belief in the traditions handed down from time immemorial.

Untouchability is not an institution, it is a corollary of the institution of caste. The population which was not included in the four *Varnas* were classed together as *Avarnas*, or the non-caste men. Originally, they seem to have belonged neither to the Hindu religion nor to the Hindu community. Slowly, however, they were brought within the folds of the religion, but they continued to remain outside the communal organisation of caste and with the disabilities of non-caste men. The principle of inequality was pushed to the utmost in their case and the Hindu legislators denied them, not only all social rights as against all caste men, but kept them excluded from many civil and legal rights as well. Many of the untouchable castes were, in some parts of India, considered to be hereditary slaves; others were confined to "unclean" occupations. To all, education was totally denied. The Hindu community never looked upon the untouchables as "a problem," but merely as a conglomeration of social units outside their own organisation and living in economic helotry and under the rigid restriction of social exclusion.

These restrictions, such as untouchability, unapproachability, in many cases denial of public wells, roads, and of the right to worship in Hindu temples, etc., are all based on the idea that the untouchables by their mere contiguity contaminate and pollute caste Hindus. Even the gods who could bear the presence of animals would be polluted

by the approach of the non-caste men. The Artha Sastra and other ancient Hindu texts on social and political life bear witness to the fact that these restrictions were very rigidly enforced, that untouchables were segregated in special areas and were allowed to walk only on certain roads, etc. Till quite recently, in orthodox Hindu States like Travancore and Cochin, these prohibitions were no matter of mere form; and the present writer has witnessed untouchable men and women being refused admission in and, in fact, being forcibly thrown out from third class railway compartments on the line owned and managed by Morvi State.

How, in spite of such inhuman treatment, the Hindu community continued to maintain its dominance over the untouchables, especially when Islam offered an easy refuge in later periods, is worth examination.

The explanation of this lies in two factors: one, in the penetration of the idea of caste among the untouchables themselves; and two, in the self-governing character of Hindu social life under the Mohammedan Rulers. The first is a phenomenon of considerable significance. The untouchable communities became, in course of time, organised in caste groups graded according to the same principles as the Varna castes were graded. Thus there was no caste which did not claim to be infinitely superior over some others, and the lower it went the more was such imaginary superiority cherished. The fact that, however high in relation to other untouchables a particular avarna community was did not affect its position in relation to the four castes, was accepted as normal, especially as otherwise the superiority of that community over those below it could not be successfully asserted. Psychologically, the fact that you are superior to someone is more important to you than that you have others above you. The penetration of the caste ideas among the untouchable communities has, therefore, been a source of great strength to the Brahmins. It is this fact that prevented the wholesale conversion of untouchables to Islam.

Secondly, under Mohammedan rule, the Hindu society maintained its own social autonomy. The empire at Delhi was interested only in peace and order, and in the collection of revenues. The caste panchayats and the Brahmin Pandits laid down the law as before and the placid surface of Hindu communal life was hardly disturbed. This is obvious from the fact that much of the crystallisation of Hindu law and the elaboration of the different schools really belongs to the Mohammedan period. It is only during the British period, and for reasons which we shall analyse later, that the untouchables became "a problem" of Hindu social organisation.

CHAPTER II

THE IDEALS AND METHODS OF DEMOCRACY

BOTH in its principles and in its tendencies, democracy presents a striking contrast to caste. Before we examine the differences in the ideals of the two systems, their methods and their effects on social life, it is necessary to define clearly what democracy means. It needs, perhaps, to be emphasised at the very outset that what we are concerned with here are the ideals and principles on which the democratic conception of society is based, and not the institutions, whether parliamentary, fascist or sovietic, by which different nations have tried to give effect to them.

It is unnecessary for our purpose to enquire into the origins of democracy. The conception of society in which men are equal and are responsible for their own Governments has existed in all countries. It is now well-established that in India itself, republican and democratic traditions were strong at one time. In Europe, democratic institutions were developed from Greek and Roman traditions. Both the Greeks and the Romans, however, were democratic only within their respective governing classes, as undoubtedly were the Brahmins in India. But in Europe the class distinctions slowly disappeared and democratic communities and nation-States as representing their political activities came gradually into prominence, while in India, as we have noticed, class distinctions became more and more rigid as time went on. The community in Europe was enlarged to comprehend

the whole population of the State. Taking England as an example, the political community first included only the tenants in chief who held land directly from the King. This was enlarged to include all freeholders and the flexible character of this body kept the community progressive. The freeholders together with the citizens of towns constituted the nation, till, in course of time, the community was further enlarged by the admission of the copyholders, leaseholders and others in the nineteenth century. Then came the trade union and labour movement which was a demand of even the lowest classes of the nation for equal power with the rest. With the recognition of adult suffrage as the basis of representation the community may be said to have reached its fullest expansion.

Democracy has been defined by one of its greatest exponents as "the government of the people, for the people, by the people." That at various periods of history the definition of the word "people" has undergone vital changes, may at once be admitted. An eminent French thinker and statesman, Mons. Guizot, elaborated in the middle of the last century the distinction between the *pays réel* and the *pays légal*. Till very recently "the people" was not supposed to include women, and certainly in South Africa it does not include the African natives. In Soviet Russia, no one but working classes possesses political rights, and a similar system prevails in Italy. But in spite of these contradictions it would not be denied that the people now denote, at least in theory, the whole community of adults capable of thinking for themselves and for others, and obviously this definition is not capable of any further expansion.

The first postulate of democracy, therefore, is that the State represents, not symbolically, but in reality, the organised energy of the whole community—the people. Political power as well as social authority rests not in individuals, families or groups, but in the community as a whole. Democracy then would mean a state of Society, an organisation of government, a system of social relation-

ship in which no single individual has inherent authority over his fellow creatures. It would be clear then that the definition of democracy as "the Government of the People" is only partially true. It is more than that. Democracy is the realisation of the unquestionable and fundamental doctrine that man is an end in himself, and that the organisation of society ought to have as its basic principle the generation of the utmost dynamic force in society as an aggregate of men, in union with the least restriction on each man as an individual.

When this fact is clearly recognised, the idea of human equality, which is the basis of democracy, will become clearer. The equality of man is not a new doctrine. From the beginning of human thought it has found expression in some form in all religious creeds. Indeed, Jean Jacques Rousseau maintained with some truth and great exaggeration that human inequality has been the result of civilisation. To him belongs the credit of enunciating the principle of equality as the great doctrine on which to base all ideas of social progress. Rousseau, in fact, is the father of modern democracy.

Equality has still its opponents : its cheap critics who say that it is the cry of the weak for the privileges of the strong. Scientists tell us that equality is physically impossible since each man is merely the result of his antecedents, of heredity, surroundings and natural gifts. Others tell us that the inequality between individuals, nations and races is so great that the idea of equality if it means that men are of equal capacity or of equal character, or that they ought to be so, is manifestly absurd. No one denies these obvious truths. The idea of human equality does not deny the importance of heredity, character and all those incalculable factors that mould the lives of men. It only insists that the subjective valuation of each man is the same or ought to be the same if human society is to attain its fullest development. It denies the inequality of classes, castes and professions, the inequality based on birth, or unalterable vocations. What democracy asserts

is equality of *rights, privileges and opportunities* and not the equality of talent or character.

Napoleon, the great sophist of democratic ideals, defined equality as opportunity or career open to talent. But this is only a half truth. Equality in democracy does not end with opportunity for the talented. More important, and having greater influence on national character, is the principle of equality of political rights and of legal status. The arrangement of human life in various grades of value (as under the caste system) tends inevitably to the demoralisation of those whose lives are considered to be of less value. This is the principle to which democracy is irreconcilably opposed.

The liberty of professional choice and the consequent emphatic negation of the idea of status based on profession is another principle of democratic society which follows from the doctrine of equality. The connection between professions and political rights is universal in non-democratic societies. In aristocracies, property means power. The same creed is more plausibly put forward by those who argue about vested interests in modern plutocratic societies. All this implies the superiority of the wealth holding classes and consequently a gradation in the value of professions according to the amount of status or wealth they would bring. The democratic state does not accept this principle. It stands for the negation of the ideas of class as based on profession, and here again it is opposed to caste.

Democracy then is the organisation of society in which all power, political or other, is vested in "the entire aggregate of the community." Equality is its cardinal doctrine and its main principles are based on the unquestionable ethical formula that every man is an end in himself and the state itself is desirable only in so far as it affords to the individual the best chance of self-realisation. It recognises no principle of difference based on birth or possessions. It stands for equal opportunity for all, and its main social tendency is to break down the barriers of

groups and weld them progressively into larger communities ; in effect, to widen continuously the symbiotic circle of the individual.

The democratic system works like other systems, through its educational and religious policies. Since the state is identical with the entire aggregate of the community, the educational ideal of democracy is totally different from that of caste. Democracy stands for free, compulsory and universal education, for equal facilities, for special training for defectives, for greater attention to the less intelligent. It emphatically repudiates all class education or any system of studies which would encourage relationship based on status. The ideal of the caste system on the other hand, as we have seen, is to confine education to certain castes and to develop in them the consciousness of the superiority of their caste. The caste system prohibits education for the lower classes and vests a monopoly of knowledge in a section.

In its religious policy, too, democracy stands against sacerdotal influence. Since truth is not confined to one religion, and the world contains and will always contain many religions, democracy has always had a tendency to be secular. Its attack on priestly influence has often been construed as an attack on religion. Where toleration of other religions and freedom of opinion are not permitted by established religions, and where churches have claimed secular authority, the democratic state has often had to oppose these claims and pretensions. But as the ideal of democracy is to ensure to each man his own free development an interference with personal religion would be against its fundamental principles.

The conflict between churches and democracies in modern times, whether in France in the beginning of the century, or in Spain and Mexico at the present time, is not, therefore, a *religious* conflict. It is in essence a fight for allegiance. A free church within a free state, which was the slogan of liberalism, accepted the idea of concurrent allegiances which no organised church claiming exclusive

authority over the conscience of men could accept. The division between the secular and religious authority must always remain artificial and as a result the attempt to confine state and religion in concentric circles was bound to fail. Besides, organised churches tend inevitably to produce class feeling among the priests who, armed with the weapon of religious authority, are always willing to challenge the supremacy of the state. The democratic system, opposed as it is both to the effects of class feeling among the priests and to the claim of the church to the allegiance of men's conscience, has often had to enter into prolonged and bitter conflicts with religious organisations. Here again, caste, which bases itself on religion and is directed towards the maintenance of sacerdotal ascendancy, is seen in direct opposition to democracy.

What are the results of democracy? The working of democratic institutions has been productive of many results, only some of which were foreseen. Advocates of democracy had all the time insisted on its educative value. The democratic state was in itself "an agency of national education" in the words of Mill. The first question in respect of any political institution, he said, is how far it tends to foster in the members of the community the various desirable qualities, moral and mental. Democracy, viewed as the collective responsibility of the community, develops without doubt ideas of social responsibility, mutual interests, and the dependence of one man on another. Having the right of deciding other people's affairs in the same proportion as they have in deciding his, the individual in democracy comes to develop a greater sense of common good. He comes to realise that individual liberty can only be attained through social organisation and this explains to him the true principles of his own social obligations. In every other form of society the principle of social obligation remains vague and unjustifiable. The obligation elsewhere is based on command and fear either religious as in caste, or of groups as in an aristocratic form of government, or of a Ruler as

in a monarchy. The "paradox of self-government," the voluntary subordination of the individual to society is explained satisfactorily only by democracy. The first and most important result of the democratic system is thus the development of the feeling of self-respect and responsibility among the entire population as different from any special class.

A second and equally important result of the democratic ideal is its irresistible tendency to break down the barriers of distinction that have "broken up the world into fragments by narrow domestic walls." It is always widening its sphere of action, tending to sweep away petty divisions of race and nationality. The international feeling that has developed in Europe limiting the narrow individualism of sovereign states is a direct outcome of democracy.

Democracy is the realisation of a truth. It is as purposeless to question it now as it is to question the use of electricity or air navigation. To criticise it on the ground of its imperfections in actual practice would no doubt be valuable, but would be irrelevant to our purpose. It is undoubtedly true that democratic practice falls far short of democratic ideals. But what we are concerned with here is the theory of two conflicting institutions. The theory of caste has to be compared with the theory of democracy. The institutions based on caste should be compared and contrasted with the institutions of democracy. It is undoubtedly true that caste like democracy is the realisation of certain ideas. How imperfectly they have been realised cannot alter our judgment of the moral value of those ideals, nor could it affect our estimate of the results.

CHAPTER III

THE FUTURE OF CASTE IN INDIA

THE challenge to Hindu society, which has now come to the final stages of a decisive issue, arises from the conflict between the equality conception of democracy and the inequality conception of caste. It is quite true that Hinduism has faced and survived many such conflicts before, but there are features in the present conflict which make the issue decisive.

First, the legal and sociological background of caste has already broken down. The criminal law of the Hindus based on the conception of caste has been totally displaced by the system of penal law introduced by the British Government and copied even in orthodox Hindu States. The essential principle of this system is the equality of all men before law. There is no gradation of punishment according to caste, and, except in a few Hindu States where the Brahmin is still exempt from capital punishment, every man receives similar punishment for similar crimes. The rights of every man before a court are the same, and this conception of equal rights has undermined the basic conception of caste in a way in which no religious reform could have done.

Secondly, the British Government has established the exclusive jurisdiction of the State in all civil and criminal matters, except where by statute such communal institutions as the Parsee Matrimonial Court exercises delegated authority. Neither the caste panchayats, nor the Pandits have now any right to inflict punishment for disobeying

the customs of the community. The legal sanction has, therefore, totally vanished. The Hindu community not being organised as a Church, has neither a Pope nor a hierarchy whose views will command obedience with the people. This sanction was provided till recently by caste panchayats and by decrees of Pandits and heads of Mutts. The decisions of the British Courts, as in the famous Bombay case where the High Court ruled that "courts of law will not recognise the authority of a caste to declare a marriage void, or to give permission to a woman to remarry," have taken away the only method of enforcement that the caste system had devised.¹

Thirdly, direct legislative enactments, like the Civil Marriage Act, the Removal of Caste Disabilities Act, the Widow Remarriage Act, etc., have attacked even the theoretical basis of caste. The legislators of Hinduism are no longer, as in the earlier days of the Company's Government, confined to Brahmins learned in the *smritis*, nor a government conservative in social matters and anxious to be neutral in questions affecting religion. Under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, the legislative authority has, to a very large measure, passed to the people whose political and legislative background is definitely derived from English tradition. The result has been that in all the provinces there have been persistent efforts towards measures intended to reorganise Hindu society on principles directly opposed to the dominance of the Brahmins. The Hindu Religious Endowment Act of Madras is a striking case in point.

Again, the secular and European character of the education imparted in India has to be taken into consideration. The statistics of literates give no index to the influence of this system. If the intelligentsia of the country repudiate the system and openly defy its rules,

¹ In personal law, the Hindu legal system, as modified by British interpretation is still applied; and in some cases as in the rights of the illegitimate children of non-Brahmin parents the doctrine of caste-inequality is given effect to. But generally speaking, British Indian law does not recognise inequality based on caste.

its effects on the masses is bound to be far-reaching. The non-Brahmin movement in Madras and the Maharashtra countries, the Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj and other movements in Northern India and Bengal, and the political awakening of the depressed classes are visible results of the educational policy of the British Government. The Brahmin receives no class-education which convinces him of his own superiority. The other castes who go to schools are not taught that the worship of the Brahmin is the first duty of every individual. On the other hand, the social system which Indo-British education postulates is one based on equality and on a denial of superiority of castes and classes (though not perhaps of races). Thus positively and negatively the spread of education undermines the ideology of caste and compels all communities to think in terms directly opposed to the theories on which caste is based.

The transformation of the nature of government from a tax-collecting and peace preserving authority to a social and political authority whose activities are all-pervading and whose interests touch the daily life of every man has made the autonomy of Hindu society impossible. Without such autonomy, the maintenance of caste authority becomes impossible, especially as the government activities in many cases go against the injunctions of caste. Distance pollution cannot be kept up in courts and government offices ; nor can pollution by touch be observed in jails or in trains, or in public thoroughfares. The breakdown of the traditional forms of village government and, what is more, the transference of authority to district and Taluq Boards where members are elected without distinctions of caste, and seats are reserved for untouchable castes, make a rigorous caste life impossible even in rural areas.

The cumulative effect of all this is that the system of caste is now visibly breaking down. From the point of view of law, it has already perished, but its social influence, entrenched as it is on religion still remains, and it is here

that the issue has now been joined by the claim of the untouchables to the use of the Hindu temples. It is but just that the disabilities of the untouchables in matters of religion should become the ground of this battle ; for if the monopoly of the Brahmins to decide on religious matters in accordance with the *smritis* created by themselves is not repudiated, the system of caste must remain, so long as Hindu religion remains. If, on the other hand, the right of the untouchables to equal religious worship contrary to the *smritis* and to the age-long authority of the Brahmins is established because the Hindu community recognises a social injustice in the exclusion of these classes, then the religious sanction of caste falls to the ground.

Other movements for the reform of Hinduism and the abolition of caste there have been in plenty before. Differences of language, distance, divergences of custom and the lack of political unity localised all such efforts. Neither Buddha nor Ramanuja, neither Kabir, nor Nanak could destroy caste for these reasons. The Brahma Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the other reform movements of the last century had also to be in essence local, as the political machinery was not co-ordinated with popular sentiment. But the present movement, especially as it is on the eve of the transfer of full legislative authority to the Indian people, differs fundamentally from all previous efforts in this direction.

It will generally be admitted that the institution of caste based on social exclusion must slowly give way before the advancing ideals of equality and liberty. But there are a few, and among them a number of learned and observant Englishmen, who insist that any attempt to destroy caste would result in the most disastrous consequences. They say : " India still needs the hierarchical leadership of caste. Those who wish for the abolition of caste forget that if successful it would be attended with the most dangerous consequences." But these friends who speak of the danger of destroying caste, forget the

greater danger which will befall India if it continues to exist. In olden days, when states were self-contained and communities looked upon one another with jealousy or fear, the institutions of one did not matter to the other. Each developed in its own way. England developed into a free state, Russia into an autocratic one. In India, they considered everyone who did not belong to a properly constituted caste a barbarian and an untouchable. But those days are gone. The civilised world has become one entity. It is every day becoming more and more so. Those states and communities that do not move with the times move against the times. Movements from being national have become universal and democracy—such a universal movement of great momentum—has been evolved by the more progressive communities of the world.

The danger now in India is not that resulting from the threatened destruction of caste, but from a possible resistance to such a movement. Democracy and caste are totally opposed, as we have tried to show: the one is based on equality, and the other on inequality of birth. The one is actuated by the principle of social inclusion, the other by the principle of social exclusion. Democracy tries to break down the barriers of class, caste seeks to perpetuate them. Democracy imparts universal education in order that class consciousness might vanish, caste refuses education except to the governing classes. In all matters that are of importance, caste and democracy are fundamentally opposed, they are at their very bases, incompatible.

The question, therefore, is shall we have democracy or shall we have caste? Shall we go with the rest of the world or shall we be left behind? That we cannot have both of them at the same time is certain. Democratic institutions while the caste system is still strong, will only be another system of social tyranny. With the enormous prestige and the great authority that the higher castes have acquired, democracy would be altogether impossible. It would only be another weapon in the hands of the higher

classes for perpetuating their class authority. If democracy is not to be travestied into gross social tyranny, the authority of the caste over the masses of Hindu population has to be completely shattered. Otherwise, representative institutions would only mean unlimited power to those who, standing on the top ladder of caste, can utilise its own enormous power and that of many other institutions with which it is intertwined, for political purposes.

If India is to become progressive and effective in this world, she has to become an organised community, with conscious purpose and high social ideals. That such a consummation is impossible as long as the iron-grip of caste remains unshattered on the vast majority of Indians, is what we have tried to prove. Since caste and democracy are opposed in ideals, contrary in methods and fundamentally different in results, they cannot co-exist in any conceivable set of circumstances. Through long centuries of misery, India has experienced the results of this all too elaborate system. It has made her the weakest and most ineffective country in the world. It has left the Hindu community cut up into small groups, unorganised and disunited. It has treated more than sixty millions of human beings with inhuman cruelty and forced them to lead a life of ignorance and misery. Is not the continuance of this system then a greater danger to the future of India than all the imagined disaster that its destruction would cause?

Indeed now the choice does not lie with us. The decision has been irrevocably taken that India should move with the world and adopt the democratic system of society. That the caste system is bound to break in the mere attempt of the society to adjust itself to democratic ideals seems certain. The mere possibility of political change has awakened the depressed classes from their age-long torpor, and their insistent demand that the institution of untouchability, which is so essential a part of the system of caste, should disappear, has become one of the most live questions of modern India. Never has the Hindu community,

in its history, been faced with so serious a crisis and what is most significant in this truly momentous movement is the all-but-universal support the reformers have received from the Hindu community. That the choice lies between the caste system with its attendant social tyranny and political weakness on the one hand, and democratic institutions with the possibility of social progress and political power on the other, has been clearly grasped by the masses of Hindu population. And this is the reason why the fight for the equality of the untouchables has become a tremendous struggle between the political forces of the country in alliance with all the impulses of social reform and educated thought on the one side, and religious orthodoxy, political reaction and social obscurantism ranged on the other.

Whether the democratic ideal will sufficiently penetrate the masses is the great problem in India to-day. The hold of the theory of Karma and its corollary of the transmigration of souls is so great on the people of India, that it would be a religious revolution of some magnitude to make them substitute the principle of social equality. But the changes that are now taking place within the Hindu society are so rapid, so fundamental, as to deserve being called revolutionary. The awakening of the depressed classes to the ideal of equality which democracy has offered to them, has not yet come to the surface in its full force. It is hardly possible to estimate what the effect of a large representation of the depressed classes on the legislatures of India would be. But one thing is certain: the Hindu society is in the melting pot. The metal, hardened by centuries of unreasoning obedience, may melt only under extraordinary heat. But it is melting, and when the molten metal solidifies again, the contradiction between caste and democracy will not be there. The principle of social exclusion and inequality based on birth will vanish; something nobler and purer will take its place and in that will lie the future of India.

MUSSOLINI

THE NEW ORDER

*Speech delivered by the « Duce » at the
Meeting of the National Council of Corporations
on November 14th, 1933-XII*

FOREWORD.

All Italians residing abroad have the duty to carefully read and divulge the memorable speech delivered by the « Duce », on November 14th, 12th Fascist year, at the closing of the National Council Corporations' works. From this speech that we have collected in the following pages, there springs out a new economy, the corporate one, which is an original flash of the Italian genius and which is bound to solve the crisis that is harassing and impoverishing the whole world. In front of twenty million unemployed men, the pioneers of economical liberalism may still strive to impose their musty formulas on the masses, but statesmen have the duty to try other ways and means.

Among all statesmen, Mussolini is the only one who has known how to indicate a new road, the goal that clears the mind and brings relief to the heart. It is for this that the « Duce »'s speech soars above the running moment, and should on that account be greeted as a true, fit proclamation to the whole world.

How is the present crisis viewed by him? It appears to him as the outcome, in fact, the crisis itself, of a system that has *boarded* the whole economical, political and social organism; a system that has crumbled everywhere.

It would suffice any clear-minded person who views matters as they stand, to realize that nothing more remains of that system: an old, stale world that has virtually passed away.

Yet, is humanity going towards socialism on that account? Not at all. One of the « Duce »'s most original points of his speech, is, in fact, the one in which he identifies supercapitalism and socialism. Who is not aware of the close relation that runs between these two evils, referring especially to State socialism,

which is the worst kind, as such that evades struggle and responsibility ? It is just for waiving the risk of repressing the world within State socialism that the instinct of life has reacted and has recalled the eternal, untreaded ideals which our spirit is entrusted with to form history. Mussolini's conception, eminently moral and dynamic, is the strongest reaction against materialism, and the boldest spiritual affirmation of our times. Socialism is fated to receive from this its fatal blow, such as to rise never again. And this is easily understood, when it is considered that Mussolini wants to save all that is possible of individual initiatives in every field, economical and political, through the radical transformation that is developing before us. There is the private initiative ; but who could in good faith assert that such might reconcile with party anarchism, or with the sweepings of a competition confined to the poorest sectors of production, while the trusts organize the sacking of the masses of workmen, imposing the heaviest burdens which end in frustrating all salary improvements ?

We hear cries against the intervention of the State in the Country's economy, but from whom do they come ? They are the outlet of the magnates of industry and speculation, who would well desire to continue squeezing and impoverishing the consumer. Others also complain, but these are the ones who would pretend to hold the masses undefended, and who, still blinded by their liberal ideas, do not hesitate in knocking at the doors of the State and beg for protection and for favors of all kinds. When Custom-house duties became onerous (this is said just to cite a typical form thereof) « liberalism » received its final blow and with it failed all political and social forms depending thereupon. This refers, of course, to the degenerate forms of Capitalism, as there are still some sound ones, the normal, which have kept on developing and which are bound to do away with the old, void methods of liberal economy. Which are these forms ? The « Duce » has cited them with his usual precision. When the size of a capitalistic concern reaches certain proportions, it ceases to be a merely economical phenomenon : it becomes a real social one. Here lies the critical point. Owing to the sociability of the economical fact, or to better say, of the capitalistic undertaking, what is the State's task, since we cannot admit that it be foreign thereto ? There are not but two solutions : either the socialism of State, or some

sort of a new method which, by safeguarding the individual himself or the private initiative and the value of invention, accepting the struggle incident to a constant elaboration of new methods, may avoid actual socialism as such that petrifies social intercourse and means anarchy of production with consequent political and moral turmoil.

The new system, therefore, to be adhered to as the only one that sets forth as a resolving synthesis of the present crisis, is the Mussolini Corporate one. Now, can this system extend its branches everywhere? Certainly, in so far as the lawn of modern civilization is still so uniform as to allow of the revival of an ordered life within a new éra for our spirit and will. The conditions, however, for attaining this have clearly been set down by the « Duce »; they were just the ones that were complied with in determining the Italian resurrection, namely, one single Party, a Totalitarian State, a High Idealistic Tension. But this is not all. It is necessary that we do away for ever with the great injustices which maintain our conscience in distress and are forming a permanent danger for western civilization. Solely at this condition may we hope to establish a minimum of European unity apt to allow us to work in common and likewise defend ourselves from « misery ».

We might add as a corollary to the above, that Mussolini's thought is ever coherent: his domestic, foreign, economical and social policy form an unseparable, well jointed, organic whole — it could not be otherwise — as our State is an organic, human body identifying itself with the reality of life. It is human as it waives all privileges of class, summoning everyone to work, insuring protection and defense for all. This is why, people and State are reconciled one with another. The sense of diffused justice has brought the labourer to feel that he owes it to the institutions created and exacted by Mussolini, if he is not vexed by misery as is the case elsewhere.

May the Italians abroad, as vanguards of the ideal battle that Mussolini is called to lead on the world's front, feel proud to be the heralds of the new growing civilization.

THE SPEECH

The applause which you welcomed my declarations with, last evening, has caused me to think whether it might be necessary for me to make a speech in order to illustrate a document that has directly reached your minds and interpreted your thoughts, touching your revolutionary sensibility. At any rate, it may interest to know through what course of meditation and thoughts, I came to form such declarations.

I wish, beforehand, to praise this assembly and express my appreciation for the discussions carried on at these meetings. But a low-minded man may have been surprised at noticing some divergencies which have occurred during such discussions, as this is unavoidable, I should say necessary : harmony is harmony ; cacophony is another thing. Besides, in discussing upon so delicate a problem as the one at stake, it is perfectly unavoidable and logic that everyone should not only bring forth his doctrinal preparation and speak his mind, but show his personal temperament. The most abstracted philosopher or the most transcendental metaphysician cannot entirely ignore his own personal temperament, nor can he prescind therefrom.

You will recollect how on November 16th of the tenth year, before thousands of hierarchs, who

had come to Rome for the Decennial in Piazza Venezia, I put the question : « Is this crisis which has been keeping us tormented for four years — we have entered the fifth since a month — a crisis within the system, or is it the crisis of the system itself ? Quite a serious question it was, indeed ; one that cannot be answered at once, but requires long reflection and needs to be vouchered. Today I shall answer. The crisis has so deeply penetrated into the system that it has become the crisis of the system itself. It is no longer a wound, but a constitutional illness. We can affirm today that the capitalistic system of production has been surpassed, and with it has died the theory of « economical liberalism » that illustrated and defended it.

I desire to trace you out the history of Capitalism during last century, which might, in fact, be called with that name. But, before all, let us see what we mean by this word. We must not confuse « Capitalism » with the « middle class » ; this latter means something else : it is a certain way of being ; it may be great or small, heroic or philisteic. « Capitalism » is instead a specific industrial manner of production, or — considered in its most perfect expression — a manner of mass-production for a mass-consumption, financed in mass by the issue of either anonymous, domestic or international Capital. Hence, this is an industrial investment which has had no manifestation of remarkable importance in the agricultural line.

In the history of Capitalism I should distinguish three periods : the dynamic, the static, the declining.

The first runs from 1830 to 1870. It coincides with the introduction of the weaver's power loom and the appearance of the locomotive. The factory — typical expression of industrial Capitalism — is installed ; this is the epoch of large margins ; hence the law of free competition, with full play in the struggle of one against the other. Here we have many who fall ; many who die ; the Red Cross will take care of them later. During this period, there are also crises, but these are cycles ; they are neither long nor universal ; Capitalism is yet so strong as to gallantly overcome them. This is the time when Louis Philip cries out : « Get rich ». Crowds from the country invade the cities : Berlin, which at the beginning of the century counts no more than 100 thousand inhabitants, now rises to one million ; Paris, which at the time of the French revolution does not exceed 500 thousand, nears, likewise, one million ; this is true also as regards London and the towns beyond the Atlantic. Selections during this period of capitalistic life are most operating. There are wars at this time, which, however, have nothing to do with the great one that we have gone through : they are short. The Italian war lasts four months the first year (1848) and four days the second (1849) ; that of 1859 only a few weeks ; the same is of that of 1866. Nor are much longer the Prussian wars : that of 1864 against the Dukes of Denmark lasts but a few days : that of 1866 — which is a consequence of the former — against Austria ends in a few days and is concluded at Sadowa. Even that of 1870, with its tragic days, lasts no longer than two seasons.

These wars, in a certain way — I dare say — even excite the Nations' economy. This is so true that not later than eight years after, in 1878, France is once more standing on her legs, and is in a position to organize that universal exhibition which causes Bismark to reflect over it.

We could not call heroic what happened in America; we prefer using this adjective for deeds of exclusively military order. It is certain, however, that the conquest of the Far West was a hard and fascinating one; it had its risks and its dead as a great conquest. This dynamic period of Capitalism should be comprised between the appearing of the steam engine and the opening of the Suez isthmus. It is a lapse of 40 years, during which time the State remains absent; it only observes. The theorists of « liberalism » say: « You, State, have but one duty, that of avoiding your even being noticed at all by the economy's sector; you will govern better, the less you middle in economical problems ». Thus, economy is merely circumscribed by the penal and commercial codes.

However, matters change after year 1870. The struggle for life, the free competition, the selection of the strongest assume other aspect. The first symptoms of tiresomeness and of a deviation of the capitalistic world become apparent: pools, syndicates, partnerships, trusts take the lead. I shall not indulge in commenting over the difference that runs between these four institutions: it is not great, or hardly so. The difference lies between imposts and taxes. Economists have not yet defined them, but

the contributor knows that when he presents himself at the cashier's window, it is useless to discuss; whether it be an impost or a tax, he must pay.

It is not true, as an Italian economist of the old « Liberal Economy » has said, that the trusts, the syndicates and the pools' system of economy is an outcome of the War. This is not true, as the first coal pool in Germany, agreed at Dortmund, dates as far back as year 1879, while in the year 1905 — that is 10 years before the great War — there were in Germany as many as 62 pools; of these, one was for potash (1904), one for sugar (1903), 10 for glass-ware industries. During that lapse there grew up in Germany from 500 to 700 pools which fully handled and ruled industry and commerce in that Country. This, while in France there were being formed in 1877 the Longwy metallurgic industrial office, in 1888 that for petroleum, and in 1881 all the Insurance Companies had joined to act as one single body. In Austria the iron pool is of the year 1873. Meanwhile, even international combinations of the kind make their show aside of the domestic ones. There are the bottle manufacturing syndicates formed in 1907, those for glass and mirrors, in 1909, formed up by French, English, Austrian and Italian elements. The railway rolling stock manufacturers unite together internationally in 1904; the zinc syndicate takes up work in 1899. Englishmen and Chilians form a nitrate pool in 1901. Briefly, the chemical, the tissue, the navigation trusts, and others, are all formed during the period preceding the War. I have a whole list of such trusts, both

national and international, which, however, I shall not annoy you with, by citing. We may say, in conclusion, that there is no sector of the economical life, either in Europe or in America where these forces characterizing Capitalism are not evident.

What is the consequence of all this ? The end of free competition. The margins of profit having grown smaller, the capitalistic undertaking finds better to unite and work in common, sharing in common markets and profits. This they find more convenient than to struggle in contrast. Offer and bid is no longer a ruling dogma, since pools and trusts handle the whole operation. At the end, this coalized Capitalism turns to the State. What is it asking for ? It seeks Customs protection. In this way, «Liberism» which is but a vast aspect of the liberalistic economic doctrine, receives its final blow.

The Country, in fact, which, as first, fixes unsurmountable barriers, is America. Even England, abjuring all that seemed traditional in her economical, political and moral life, enforces an ever harsher protective regimen. Next comes the War. Once the War is over, as a consequence thereof, capitalistic enterprises become inflated ; from the million they step over to the billion. These so called vertical constructions seen from distant give the impression of something monstrous and babellic. The same dimensions of the enterprise surpass all man's possibilities. Once it was the spirit to rule over the matter, now it is the matter that domineers the spirit ; what was physiology has now become pathology. In a few words, all is abnormal.

Two men — for in every human vicissitude the representative ones are those who spring forth along the horizon — identify this situation: they are Kreuger, the Swedish matchmaker, and Insull, the American jobber. With the cruel sincerity that is a Fascist habit, we shall add that in Italy as well there have been some specimens of the kind; these, however, in the lump, have not reached peaks so high.

« Capitalism » having come to this phase, draws its inspiration and justification from an utopia: that of unlimited consumption. The capitalistic ideal would be that of standardizing mankind from its cradle to its coffin. Supercapitalism would covet to have all men born of the same size so as to fit them in the same sized cradles; they would welcome children playing with the same toys, men dressing the same clothes, reading the same books, relishing the same films; in short, they would wish to see all men appealing for the so called utilitarian machine; which fact, after all is not a mere fancy, but even logical, in so far as but in this manner, supercapitalism may trace out its plans.

When does the capitalistic undertaking cease to be an economical fact? It is when its size leads it to become a social one. Now, we have arrived just at the moment when capitalistic enterprise, having fallen into difficulty, throws itself desperately in the State's arms. This is the instant when the State's intervention becomes more and more necessary, and is fretfully sought just by those who ignored it. We are at a point that were the States

to fall asleep for 24 hours, a parenthesis of the kind would suffice to determine a disaster. There is now no economical field in which the State has not but to intervene. Had we to yield — just as an hypothesis — to this last kind of Capitalism, we would arrive straight at « State Capitalism » which is nothing else but « State Socialism » capsized. Taken either way, it would mean the handling of the national economy by the officials of the State. All this forms the crisis of the capitalistic system considered in its universal sense; but for us there is a specific crisis which particularly regards us as Italians and Europeans, since there is a typical European crisis at stake. Europe is no longer the Continent that directs human civilization: this is a dramatic statement which men who have the duty to think, should consider and have others to do. There was a time when Europe ruled the world politically, spiritually and economically. It did so politically, through its political institutions; spiritually, through all that Europe has produced with its spirit along past centuries; economically, as being the sole Continent strongly industrialized. Beyond the Atlantic, however, there have been growing and developing great industrial and capitalistic enterprises, while Japan, in the Far East, after getting into touch with Europe through the war in 1905, has kept advancing westwardly at quick pace.

Here the problem is political. I use this word; inasmuch as this Assembly is exquisitely a political one. Europe may still attempt to take over the rudder of universal civilization, were we to find a

minimum of political unity. We need to follow what we have constantly planned : a political European understanding cannot be attained unless we remedy, beforehand, some great injustices which have been committed. We have now arrived at an extremely serious point of this situation. The « League of Nations » has lost all that might have given it a political signification and an historical value. The very same one who invented it has kept far from it ; Russia, the United States, Japan and Germany are absent. This League started out on principles which, as expressed, are appealing, but once anatomized and sectioned prove to be absurd. Which other diplomatic act is fit to place the States in touch one with the other ? Locarno ? But Locarno is something else ; it has nothing to do with disarmament. We cannot pass that way.

There has been much silence lately over the « Four-hand-in-hand Covenant » ; no-one speaks about it, but all think of it. It is just for this that we do not propose to take it up anew, or to overhasten the time of a situation that logically and fatally keeps ripening.

Now, let us ask ourselves this : Is Italy a capitalistic Country ? Have you ever thought of it ? Well, if for « Capitalism » we mean to say the assemblage of uses, customs, and technical progress now common to all Nations, we might hold Italy as a capitalistic Country as well ; but if we go deeper into the situation, and examine it from a static view point, that is, referring our scrutiny to the masses of the various economical categories of the populations, we must conclude, by our findings, that Italy

is not a capitalistic Country in the common meaning of this word.

The farmers who work their own lands, at the date of April 21st, 1931, are 2,943,000; the farm tenants are 858,000; metayers and husbandmen number 1,631,000; the other countrymen, hand-craftmen, country day-labourers sum up to 2,475,000, making, all told, a total of 7,900,000 men engaged in tillage work.

The industrial craft sums up to 523,000; tradesmen are 841,000; artisans, both subalterns and masters are 724,000; labourers on salary, 4,283,000; servants, 849,000; the armed forces of the State, 541,000, these latter including the police body. Those engaged in professional work and free arts number 553,000; public and private employees are 905,000; forming, thus, with both groups, a total of 17 millions.

Proprietors and wealthy folks are not many in Italy: they are 201,000. There are 1,945,000 students, and 11,244,000 housekeepers. There are 1,295,000 persons engaged in various activities not professional. You can see from this schedule how the Italian economy is varied and complex, and such as to not be defined through a single type; also owing to the fact that the industrial craft which shows an imposing total of 523,000 constituents, is formed by parties having, almost all, small concerns. The small firms engage from 50 to a maximum of 500 workmen; the larger ones employ from 500 to 5000 or even 6000 men. Above this we have the great industry, and sometimes we

break into supercapitalism. This table shows us also how Charles Marx was wrong in claiming, with his apocalyptical plans, that mankind might be divided into two uprightly distinct and irreconcilable classes.

Italy, in my opinion, should remain as a mixed economy Nation, with a strong agricultural activity, which is the base of all. This is so true that the slight revival in industry, of late, is due — as is the opinion of competents — to the fair crops of the last years. She should, furthermore, have a small and medium but sound industry, a Bank foreign to speculation, and a trade responding to its unreplaceable function, that of rapidly and rationally conveying the goods to the consumer.

In my declaration as presented last evening, I gave a definition of the « Corporation », such as we understand it and want it to be. We have as well defined its scopes. We have said that such a « Corporation » is formed in view of the development of the Italian wealth, her political power and her welfare, which three conditions are well subordinate one to another. Political strength creates wealth, while wealth, on its turn, invigorates political action.

I wish to call your attention to what is mentioned as our scope, namely the Italians' welfare. It is necessary that at a certain moment these institutions which we have created shall be felt and identified by the masses as instruments by means of and through which they improve their lives' level.

The labourer, the husbandman, should be brought at a certain moment to tell himself and his

dear ones : « If I am today better off, I owe it to the institutions which the Fascist Revolution has created.

In all Countries there is a branch where poverty unavoidably lodges ; there is an aliquot of people who lives at the margin of social intercourse. Special institutions take care of these. What should grieve us is the misery of healthy and sound men who eagerly but invain seek work.

We want to have Italian workmen — we are, of course, interested in these as Italians, as laborers, as Fascists — to feel that we are forming institutions not merely for the sake of giving shape to our doctrinal plans, but such as shall give, at a certain moment, positive, concrete, practical, tangible results.

I shall not go over the conciliatory task that the « Corporation » might exercise, nor do I see any inconvenience in practicing consulting means. It already happens that every time the Government has to provide for matters of a certain importance it appeals to the interested parties, and if, some day, such advisory means were to become obligatory, there would be no harm, as all that brings the citizen near to the State, and makes him penetrate into its gear, is useful to the social and national objects of Fascism.

Our State is not an absolute one, nor is it absolutist ; not far from men and merely armed with inflexible laws. Ours is an organic, human State that wants to adhere to the reality of life.

The very same burocracy is not today, nor will it be even less, tomorrow, a diaphragm between

what is the action of the State and the interest and requirements of the Italian people. I feel sure that the Italian burocracy — which is indeed admirable — will tomorrow work, as it has heretofore, with equal vigor, together with the «Corporations», every time the solution of problems will call for more valuable assistance.

What has, however, most eagerly interested this Assembly, is the idea of proposing to confer upon the National Council of Corporations legislative power. Someone, anticipating events, has even spoken of the liquidation of the present House of Deputies. Let us explain.

The present body of Deputies, since the present legislature is about expiring, should be dismissed. Secondly, as there is not sufficient time during these months to form the new corporate institutes, the House will be dismissed following the same method of 1929. The House at a certain moment shall have to decide on its own destiny. Are there some Fascists who would weep over such an hypothesis? If so, let them know that we shall not wipe their tears!

It is quite conceivable that a National Council of the Corporations might replace in full the House of Deputies. As a matter of fact I have never liked this House: it is now anacronistic even in its title; it is an institute that we have found, which is foreign to our mentality and to our Fascist passion. It presupposes a world that we have demolished; it greets a plurality of Parties which more than often become targets to reciprocal attacks. Since the

instant in which we have annulled the plurality of Parties, the House has lost the essential reason for which it was formed. Almost all of the Fascist Members of the present Chamber of Deputies have been at the height of their faith, and we should have reason to believe that their blood must be very good, as they have not drooped into that atmosphere that recalls so much of the past.

All this will take place shortly, as we need not to precipitate events. What is important is to establish the principle, as it is from this that we draw our fatal consequences.

When on the 13th of January, 1923, there was formed the « Grand Council » some superficial minds may have thought that there had been created an institute. No. On that day there was buried the political liberalism.

At the moment that the « Militia » — the armed garrison of the Party and of the Revolution — was formed, and the « Grand Council » — the supreme organ of that Revolution — rose, a final blow was hurled at all that sounded theory and practice of liberalism. We drove, then, directly into the road of our Revolution.

Today we are burying economical liberalism.

Corporation is playing its game in the economical field, such as did the « Grand Council » and the « Militia », in the political. Corporation means a disciplined and therefore a controlled economy, since there can be no discipline which is not controlled. « Corporatism » overcomes « Socialism » as well as it does « Liberalism » ; it creates a new synthesis.

There is a fact which has not been sufficiently reflected upon, and this is that the decline of « Capita-

lism » coincides with that of « Socialism ». All Socialist Parties in Europe have become smashed ! I am not speaking of Italy and Germany, but also of other Countries. Evidently, the two phenomena, I shall not say, were conditioned one to the other, from a strictly logical view point ; there was, however, between one another, a simultaneousness of historical order. This is why corporate economy rises at a determined historical moment, that is, when the two concomitant phenomena — Capitalism and Socialism — have already given all they could. From them both, we are inheriting what they had of vital.

We have rejected the theory of the « economic man » — the liberal economy. We have reared every time we have heard to say that work is a merchandise. The « economic man » does not exist ; there exists the « integral man », who is political, economical and religious ; one who is saint ; one who is a warrior.

Today we are making another decisive step on the Revolution road.

Justly, comrade Tassinari has said that a revolution, to be great, to strike a deep impression upon the life of a people, and in history, has to be social. If you sip deep, you will find that the French Revolution was eminently a social one, since it demolished all that still remained of middle-ages, from turnpike moneys to corvees ; it was social inasmuch as it roused that vast upsetting of everything that meant land distribution in France, and created those millions of proprietors, who have formed and still form one of the solid and sound forces of that Country.

Otherwise, everyone will have thought to have made a revolution. Revolution is a serious thing ;

it is not a conspiracy of palace, nor is it a change in the State Departments, or the advent of a Party supplanting another. It is laughable to read that in 1876, the fact that the « Sinistra » had gotten into power, was defined a revolution.

Let us, finally, ask ourselves this question : Can « Corporatism » be applied in all other Countries ? We must put ourselves this query as it is being tried to be solved in all Countries, where the matter is studied. There is no doubt that, on account of the general crisis of « Capitalism », some corporate solution shall impose itself everywhere. However, to render « Corporatism » fully complete, integral and revolutionary, there are needed three conditions, to wit : firstly, a single Party, which allows of a combined action between a political and economical discipline, which may bind everyone in a tie of common faith, above any and all contrasting interests ; secondly, a totalitarian State, which may absorb within its bosom all energies, interests and aspirations of the people, transforming and affording them potential virtue ; thirdly, last but most important, to live a period of most high ideal tension.

We are now living that period, and it is for this that, little by little, we are giving strength and consistence to all our realizations, converting into facts all our doctrine.

Who can deny that this Fascist period of ours is one of high ideal tension ? No one. This is the time that all arms are crowned with victory : we are renewing institutions, we are redeeming lands, we are founding towns.

CONSTITUTION, SCOPE, ORGANS AND TASKS OF THE CORPORATIONS

The National Council of the Corporations defines these as an instrument which, under the State's egide, cares for the integral, organic and unitarian discipline of the productive forces, in view of the wealth, of the political power and the welfare of the Italian people ;

it declares that the number of the Corporations to be formed for the great branches of production, shall, in general, be such as to comply with the actual requirements of national economy ;

it establishes that the general staff of the Corporation shall include representatives from the State's administrative departments, those of the Party, those for capital, for labor for technics ;

it details the Corporations, as a specific task, to take care of the conciliating and consulting work, it being compulsory to adhere to such procedure in the case of problems of greater importance, and to issue, through the National Council, laws regulating the economical activities of the Nation ;

it leaves it to the Grand Council of Fascism to decide on such further developments in the political constitutional line, as shall spring forth as an outcome of the actual constitution of the Corporations and their practical working.

CORPORATION FOR PRODUCTIVE CYCLES

What should be understood by the wording « Corporation for productive cycles » is very clearly explained in the State Department's Report drafted on the eve of the discussion that took place at the National Council of Corporations, which ended with the memorable Speech of the « Duce » :

At first sight the two conceptions of « category » and « product » might appear as equipollent. The categories, in fact, mean nothing but « employers » and « employees », who are engaged in caring for a certain production, while the « product » is the fruit of that work. Therefore, whether we consider the man as the factor of a certain production (the category), or we start from the terminal point of this production (viz., the product) the result should be the same. The question, however, is actually different, accordingly as we adopt either conception. That first impression of similarity is very likely due to an imperfection of terminology.

In our case, by the word « product » we mean that which forms the conclusion of a whole productive cycle, and which often presupposes a series of transformations of preceding products. For instance, the silk-worm seed is a product ; the silk-worm itself is another product, that is, a second stage of the productive cycle ; the silk thread is a

third one ; the silk stuff a fourth, and, finally, the commercial one, a fifth. Now, if the Corporations are to be made up by categories, it is possible that for the silk there may be formed 3 Corporations ; to wit : one in the industrial line for the silk throwing, its twisting, its weaving ; one in the agricultural field for the silk-tilling, and one in the commercial line for the various silk products. Whereas, if we follow the conception of the product, or better, of the productive cycle, there would be formed one single silk Corporation, wherein there should be represented, proportionally to the entity of the respective interests, the categories of the employers and employees, who take care of the silk-worm seeds, of the silk-tilling, of the silk throwing, its twisting, its weaving, its pressing, its finishing, its dying, and, finally, the sale of the various products thereof.

Naturally, the conception of « productive cycle », in the case of economical activities which imply services such as banks, transportation, etc., should be understood in a different and amplier sense than in that referring to activities producing material contents.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CORPORATIONS DELIBERATED BY THE GRAND COUNCIL OF FASCISM

On December 9th, 1933-XII, at Palazzo Venezia, the Grand Council of Fascism, presided over by the « Duce », following a discussion of five hours, drafted the law forming the Corporations. This law consists of 15. articles ; to wit :

Article I.

The Corporations, as anticipated in the sixth declaration of the Labor Chart, and by the law of April 3rd, 1926, N° 563, and the Royal Decree of July 1st, 1926, N° 1130, are hereby formed by a decree of the Chief of the Government, upon relative bill submitted by the Minister for the Corporations, and the advice of the Central Corporate Committee.

Article II.

The Chairman for the Corporations shall either be a Minister or an Under-Secretary of State, or the Secretary of the National Fascist Party, appointed with decree by the Chief of the Government, Chairman of the National Council of the Corporations.

Article III.

The Decree forming the Corporation establishes the number of members forming the Council, and

that of those to be appointed by each of the connected associations. All appointments shall have to be approved by the Chief of the Government with his decree, upon proposal of the Minister for the Corporations.

Article IV.

Special sections may be formed within the Corporations wherein are represented categories of various economic activity branches. Their resolutions, however, shall have to be approved by the Corporation.

Article V.

The Chief of the Government, for questions concerning different branches of economical activity, may order two or more Corporations to be called up together. Joint Corporations, bear, with regard to such questions, the same power as is conferred upon each Corporation and as expressed in the following articles.

Article IV.

The Chief of the Government, through decree, upon proposal by the Minister for the Corporations and following the Central Corporate Committee's advice, may form Corporate Committees for the discipline of economical activities referring to certain products, calling to form part thereof, representatives for economical categories, for State's administrative offices so interested, and those of the National Fascist Party. The resolutions of such Corporate Committees shall, however, be submitted to

the approval by the competent Corporations and the general meeting of the National Council for the Corporations.

Article VII.

Joint associations so assembled by a Corporation, become autonomous in the controlling sense, but continue adhering to the respective Confederations, according to such dispositions as shall be issued by the Minister for the Corporations.

Article VIII.

Beasides the duties and the power already conferred by the law of April 3rd, 1926, N° 563, and by the Royal Decree of July 1st, 1926, N° 1130 the Corporation works out the regulations prescribed by the law of March 21st, 1930, N° 206, with regard to the collective ruling of economical relations and the unitarian discipline of the production. The Corporation performs this duty following the advice of the competent Ministers, or upon the request of one of the connected associations, with the consent of the Chief of the Government.

Article IX.

All covenants stipulated pursuant to Article 12th of the law of March 20th, 1930, N° 206, by syndical associations connected one with another by a Corporation, shall be submitted to the Corporation's advice in advance of the approval by the National Council of the Corporations.

Article X.

The Corporation is entitled to fix the tariffs (fees) for works and economical services rendered by producers exercising their activity within that Corporation's branch.

Article XI.

All rules, plans and tariffs referred to in former articles, are subjected to the approval of the General Meeting of the National Council of the Corporations, and become obligatory once published upon decree of the Chief of the Government, to be inserted in the Official File of Laws and Decrees of the Kingdom. As regards penalties for non-fulfillment of said rules, plans and tariffs by single individuals, there shall be enforced the legislative dispositions as indicated for collective labor contracts.

Article XII.

The Corporation gives its opinion on all questions interesting the branch of economical activity for which it is formed, every time request may be made therefor by the proper public administrations. The Chief of the Government may, by decree, establish that, for certain matters, public administrations shall request the opinion of the Corporations so interested. By the decree instituting the Corporation or by other subsequent thereto, the Chief of the Government may suppress the existing consulting Commissions for the branch of economical activity for which such Corporation was formed, whichever

may be the nature of the disposition wherefor such Commissions were formed.

Article XIII.

The attempts made to reconcile parties in their collective controversies incident to labor are carried on by the Corporation through a Conciliatory College formed by members of the same Corporation, chosen, from time to time by the Chairman, having regard to the nature and the subject of each controversy.

Article XIV.

All provisions contrary to the present law, or incompatible therewith, are hereby repealed. The King's Government has the right to issue laws aiming at coordinating the present provisions with the laws of April 3rd, 1926, N° 563, of March 20th, 1930, N° 206, of July 16th, 1932, N° 834, of January 12th, 1932, N° 141, and with the others of the State.

Article XV.

The composition of the organs of the National Council of the Corporations shall be modified by Royal Decree, upon proposal by the Chief of the Government, following decisions taken by the Council of the Ministers.

SPEECHES AND TOASTS.

SPEECHES AND TOASTS:

How to Make and Propose Them.

INCLUDING:

HINTS TO SPEAKERS

AND

MODEL EXAMPLES FOR ALL OCCASIONS.

WARD, LOCK & CO., LIMITED
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CONTENTS.



HINTS TO SPEAKERS.

	PAGE
I.—OF ORATORY IN GENERAL	9
II.—OF MAKING SPEECHES :—	
(a) Preparation	12
(b) Delivery	15
III.—OF SOME COMMON ERRORS IN SPEECH	18
IV.—OF AFTER-DINNER SPEAKING	20

SECTION I.—ROYAL PERSONAGES AND PATRIOTIC TOASTS.

Toast—THE KING... ..	24
" QUEEN MARY, THE PRINCE OF WALES, AND THE REST OF THE ROYAL FAMILY	27
" THE IMPERIAL FORCES... ..	31
Speeches in Reply to the Foregoing—	
" Reply on Behalf of the " Army "	32
" Reply on Behalf of the " Navy "	33
" Reply on Behalf of the " Reserve Forces "	33
Toast—THE ARMY... ..	34
Speech in Response for the " Army "	35
Toast—THE NAVY... ..	35
Speech in Response for the " Navy "	36
Toast—THE TERRITORIALS	36
Speech in Response for the " Territorials "	37
Toast—A REGIMENT	38
Speech in Response for the " Regiment "	39
Toast—THE NAVY AND THE NAVAL RESERVE	39
Speech in Response for the " Navy and the Naval Reserve "	40
Toast—THE NAVAL VOLUNTEERS	41
Speech in Response for the " Naval Volunteers "	41
Toast—THE TERRITORIALS (proposed officially)	42
Speech in Reply by the Senior Officer	43
Toast—THE SERVICES, proposed by the late Lord LEIGHTON	44
Speech in Reply for the " Army," by the late Duke of Cambridge	45
" for the " Navy," by the late Earl of Northbrook	46

SECTION II.—TOASTS ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL.

AT A CONSECRATION—

Toast—THE CHURCH AND OUR BISHOP	48
" THE CLERGY	49
" THE VICAR OF THE PARISH	49
Speech in Reply by the " Vicar "	50
Toast—THE CLERGY OF THE DISTRICT	51

SECTION III.—THE LEGISLATURE.

	PAGE
Toast—THE HOUSE OF LORDS	52
Speech in Reply to the preceding	52
Toast—HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS	54
" THE HOUSE OF COMMONS	55
" THE MEMBERS FOR THE BOROUGH	55
" THE COUNTY MEMBERS	56
Speech (1)—Proposing a Candidate for Election	57
" (2)—Another on a Similar Occasion	57

SECTION IV.—LEGAL.

Toast—HIS MAJESTY'S JUDGES	59
" THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF THE COUNTY	60
" THE MAGISTRATES	61
Reply by one of the Magistrates	63

SECTION V.—TOASTS SOCIAL.

WEDDINGS—

Toast—THE BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM	65
" THE NEWLY MARRIED COUPLE	66
" ANOTHER ON A SIMILAR OCCASION	67
Response by the "Bridegroom"	68
Response by the "Bridegroom," and proposing the "Bridesmaids"	68
Speech in Reply to the "Bridesmaids," by the "Best Man"	69
Toast—THE GROOMSMEN	69
Speech in Reply to the "Groomsmen"	70

CHRISTENINGS—

Toast—THE LITTLE STRANGER	70
" THE HEALTH OF THE BABY	71
Reply to the foregoing Toasts	72
Response of the Godfather to the Toast of his Health	72

BIRTHDAYS—

Toast—THE HERO OF THE DAY	73
Speech in Reply to the foregoing	74
Toast—THE HEIR	74
Speech in Reply by the "Heir"	75
Toast—THE TENANTS	76
Reply to the Toast of the "Tenants"	77
Speech of Thanks for the Toast of his Health, spoken by the Squire	78
Speech for a Silver Wedding	78
Another Proposal	80
Reply to the Toast of "Silver Wedding"	81
Another Reply	82

CONTENTS.

7

SECTION VI.—SPORTING TOASTS.

CRICKET DINNERS—		PAGE
Toast—OUR OPPONENTS	...	84
Reply by the Captain of the Opposing Team ...	...	85
Toast—SUCCESS TO THE ——— CLUB	...	86
Response to the foregoing Toast	...	87
Response of the Captain to the foregoing Toast ...	...	88
Toast—THE HEALTH OF THE HOST	...	89
Speech in Reply by the "Host"	...	90
REGATTA DINNERS—		
Toast—SUCCESS TO THE REGATTA	...	90
Speech in Reply by the Hon. Secretary to the Committee	...	92
Toast—THE HEALTH OF THE COMPETING CREWS... ..	...	92
Speech in Reply by the Successful Stroke	...	93
AN ARCHERY MEETING—		
Toast—THE ARCHERY CLUB	...	94
Speech by the President, after Prize Distribution	...	94
AN ANGLING CLUB—		
Toast—PROSPERITY TO THE ——— ANGLING CLUB	...	95
A CYCLING CLUB—		
Toast—PROSPERITY TO THE ——— CYCLING CLUB	...	96
AT AN ANNUAL HOUSE DINNER—		
Toast—THE FIRM	...	97
Speech in Reply by the Senior Partner	...	99
Toast—THE EMPLOYÉS	...	100
Speech in Reply by the Senior Clerk	...	101
Toast—THE VISITORS	...	101
Speech in Reply by a Visitor	...	102
Toast—THE LADIES	...	102
Speech in Reply by a Bachelor	...	104
AT PENNY READINGS—		
OPENING ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN	...	105
CONCLUDING ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN	...	106

SECTION VII.—MISCELLANEOUS TOASTS.

Toast—THE PRESS	...	107
Reply to the foregoing	...	109
LAYING THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF A MUSEUM	...	110
AT A SCHOOL FESTIVAL	...	112
ADDRESS AT A "PRIZE-GIVING" FOR SPORTS	...	112
A NEW RAILWAY LINE—TURNING THE FIRST SOD	...	114
Reply to the foregoing Toast	...	115
Toast of the TOWN AND TRADE OF ———	...	115

SPEECHES AND TOASTS.

HOW TO MAKE AND PROPOSE THEM.

HINTS TO SPEAKERS.

I.—OF ORATORY IN GENERAL.

ALTHOUGH this handbook is limited in its scope more particularly to social functions, a few remarks upon oratory in general are appropriate to it. For oratory is nothing more nor less than the art of public speaking, and while some natural aptitude must be presupposed in those who practise the art, eminence in it can only be achieved by its sedulous cultivation.

How potent a factor in civilisation oratory has been it is difficult to estimate correctly. Civilisation, according to Taine, is synonymous with progress, and tyranny, the arch-enemy of progress, ever seeks to stifle liberty of speech ; thus has arisen the old saying that oratory and liberty are twins, and the great orator may as truly serve his country as the great legislator or the great soldier.

In a world where conservation of energy is so tremendous a fact, no speech can fail to have effect, whether for good or evil, and the speech that is compelled by purity of motive and sincerity of conviction, and, in addition, is delivered with consummate art, is a motive force of which the ultimate results can never be definitively gauged. It is the purity of motive that matters, for "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh. A good man out of the good treasure of the heart bringeth forth good things : and an evil man out of the evil treasure bringeth forth evil things." It was because of His accurate perception of the far-

reaching effect of speech that Christ delivered himself of that solemn warning as to the responsibility attaching to those who give utterance to it : " Every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment. For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned." What is true of the least, is true of the greatest. The greater the power bestowed upon a man to sway his fellows by his spoken words, the greater his responsibility for the use to which he puts his gifts. There is no need to elaborate the point, which has only to be stated to be accepted. Oratory more than any other art incites to action, and if the art be cultivated with that object in view, no pains spent upon it are too laborious, considering the enormous power which it gives to its possessor.

The first essential condition, therefore, precedent to the delivery of any oration, is that the orator should have something to say ; and, words having been given to man for the purpose of communicating thought, an oration will be good or bad in proportion as it gives clear expression to the ideas intended to be conveyed by the speaker to his audience.

From this it is easy to deduce the qualifications which a speaker must possess if he would successfully promulgate the opinions which are clear and convincing to his own mind : he must have a command of language with an exact appreciation of the value of words : that he can get by reading ; he must have a facility of presenting his thoughts in logical sequence, so that his arguments are cumulative and in the sum convincing : that he can acquire by writing ; he must have clearness of utterance, coupled with deliberation of manner and entire self-possession : that he can acquire by conversation and reading aloud. All these three things may be achieved by patient study and intelligent application. The crowning quality which differentiates the supremely great orator from the merely competent one, is another matter ; this quality, to use a word in vogue at the moment, is *εκστασις*, and it is not to be acquired in the schools ; it is the little touch of genius which inspires life into the marble of the sculptor, into the painted canvas of the artist, into the written words of

the author, and into the spoken words of the orator ; but, although it cannot be taught in the schools, it is bestowed upon the really earnest man much more commonly than is supposed, for something of it is implied in the sincerity of the conviction that compels the individual to give utterance to the thoughts that are in him.

Earnestness is infectious, and the orator, who at the beginning of his speech convinces his audience that he is himself in earnest, has gone a long way towards enchainning their attention and winning their suffrages. The arts which he can acquire by study and by practice will do as much as is humanly possible of the rest. The mysterious power which great orators undoubtedly exercise over their hearers, and which so many people endeavour to explain by such phrases as nerve-force, personal magnetism, and the rest, is, if reduced to its simplest terms, little more than the natural result of mere earnestness.

Scientifically, oratory is divided into several categories. There is the didactic, intended primarily to convey instruction ; the deliberative, which is primarily the oratory of Parliament and other conferences ; the forensic, consisting primarily in argument before a court ; and the demonstrative, or epideictic, which may be sub-divided into the eulogy, the inaugural and anniversary address, the homiletic address or sermon, and, finally, the after-dinner speech. For all these various categories the essential qualifications of the orator are as enumerated above, and it must be left to his discretion to incorporate in his address so much of imagination, colour, wit, humour, pathos, and the like, as may seem advisable according to the nature of his audience ; for audiences may be broadly divided into two classes, the sentimental and the critical, and the method of treatment of a subject appropriate to the one would be inappropriate to the other.

II.—OF MAKING SPEECHES.

(a) PREPARATION.

MASTERY of the subject is the first consideration in making speeches. Whatever object the orator has in view—whether it be to convey instruction, to sway an assembly, to obtain a conviction, to praise an individual, to expound a text, or to propose a toast—the first essential is that he should know his facts. “Clear thought is the foundation of persuasive speech,” and clear thought can only be obtained by exact knowledge.

Having chosen, or been given, his subject, the orator's first duty, therefore, is to crystallise it into a single proposition, and group round that proposition all the facts and arguments he can possibly collect. This part of his work cannot be too elaborate. He must read everything he can find bearing upon the subject. An excellent plan is to make notes of all relevant facts and arguments and write these down on slips of paper cut to a uniform size, adopting Eustace Miles's method of having a separate card for every note—one idea, one card; these notes may be allowed to accumulate indefinitely, and can periodically be arranged in such an order that all the notes relating to the several passages in the projected speech will come together and form a skeleton of the finished address.

Having collected his materials, the student will next set to work to analyse his notes and fit them all together in logical sequence so that the original skeleton becomes a perfectly balanced framework; on to this he will attach in their several proper places all his facts, and figures, and illustrations, discarding such notes as he may now regard as immaterial or unimportant. When the speech is argumentative, and intended to be delivered to a critical audience, he will be well advised not to eliminate too much. By the time he has mastered his subject, he may easily make the mistake of thinking that his hearers have done the same thing as thoroughly as himself, and fail in his object by assuming that they possess greater knowledge than is actually the case. An argument may be so con-

densed as to become almost unintelligible on a single hearing, and consequently the speaker, while avoiding prolixity and repetition, should avoid the opposite danger of inadequate elaboration, remembering always that the burden of proof rests upon himself and that his task is only done when he has satisfied the last objector.

A speech consists of four parts : exordium, discussion, conclusion, and peroration. The first prepares the way for the second ; the second must be followed, naturally and inevitably, by the third ; the third is emphasised and rounded off by the last. It is to the second and third that the student must address himself particularly in the process of preparation here suggested, for they are the body of the speech ; the extremities may be treated rather differently. The exordium, for instance, may or may not contain an enunciation of the proposition which the speaker proposes to establish ; it may be personal in tone, intended to conciliate an audience which the speaker has reason to believe is hostile to his views ; it may be several other things ; but it should always bear directly upon the matter in hand, and be short and to the point ; it is the speaker's introduction of himself to his audience, and ought to be "happy." In the same way, the peroration may contain a direct reference to the original proposition, may be apologetic or denunciatory, rhetorical or emotional. Only practice can enable a man to decide how he shall conclude any speech ; there is an art in "leaving off," and sometimes only a natural artistic instinct can tell a man when and how to stop. No direct advice can be given upon these heads ; but in preparing a speech the exordium and peroration may be left to the last, and in delivering the speech something of the exordium may be left to depend upon the conditions found to exist at the actual moment.

Having mastered his subject and "built" his speech, the student should next reduce it to actual words, and his safest and wisest plan will be to write it out at length. No really great oration has ever yet been delivered *ex tempore*. In this connection, Lord Brougham, no mean authority, has said : "This leads me to remark that, though speaking without writing beforehand is very well till the habit of easy speaking is acquired, yet after that

he can never write too much ; this is quite clear. It is laborious, no doubt, and it is more difficult beyond comparison than speaking off-hand ; but it is necessary to perfect oratory, and, at any rate, it is necessary to acquire the habit of correct diction. But I go further, and say even to the end of a man's life he must prepare word for word most of his finer passages."

The written speech thus perfected serves a double purpose : it is available for the speaker to read from if the subject is of first-class importance and he fears that from nervousness, or any other cause, he may lose the thread of his argument and mar his prospects by omitting any essential points ; it is also available for him to study : he can commit it word for word to memory and repeat it textually, so that his address—however it may be delivered—is, at any rate, a finished dissertation upon the subject at issue. On both these counts a word of warning is necessary. An address read from copy can never have the same convincing effect as an oration delivered with an air of spontaneity ; the delivery of an oration must be supplemented with animation of manner and appropriate gesture, and a man who reads his address is hampered by the necessity of holding his manuscript and directing his attention to that instead of to the audience ; and, on the other hand, the man who finds it necessary to learn his speech by heart and deliver it textually from memory runs some risk of seeming to be repeating a lesson and of delivering it too mechanically and, probably, with too great rapidity of utterance.

There can be no doubt, however, that the exercise of writing out in full the speech to be delivered does impress its phraseology with singular distinctness on the mind, and it should always be done until the habit of easy speaking has been acquired and the orator can rely upon the inspiration of the moment to clothe in appropriate words the arguments he has previously considered and noted down. From the complete copy, moreover, a summary can be prepared, covering perhaps only a few sheets of note-paper, which the most practised orator can advantageously employ to refresh his memory when he is actually called upon to rise and face his audience.

Young speakers should never omit to write out and memorise their speeches, and they should further rehearse them privately beforehand to some friendly critic, who can advise them on the manner of delivery and give many valuable hints as to which points should be emphasised and which may be less forcibly driven home.

This, then, is an adequate, if brief, indication of the course to be pursued in the preparation of a speech. Study the subject, frame the argument, select the materials, write the speech, memorise it textually : this done, no man need fear to rise to his feet before the largest audience. At least, he will have paid them the compliment of taking the utmost possible pains to have something intelligent and lucid to offer to their consideration.

(b) DELIVERY.

With regard to the actual delivery of a speech, only a few general hints can be given in the limited space available here. There are many books upon elocution to which reference may be profitably made, and it may be remarked, incidentally, that not enough attention is paid nowadays to elocution as part of the education of cultured people. It is a regrettable fact that insufficient stress is laid upon the importance of really good reading and speaking as part of a gentleman's equipment for the world.

Proper management of the breath is the fundamental necessity in the effective use of the voice. The nostrils are the proper organs of breathing, and abdominal breathing is the proper method ; it has been laid down as a definition that "the criterion of correct inspiration is an increase of the size of the abdomen and of the lower part of the chest ; whoever draws in the abdomen and raises the upper part of the chest breathes wrongly." For public speaking the important thing is to take in as much breath as possible, inflate the lungs to their fullest extent with air, and never exhaust them, taking fresh inspirations whenever and wherever opportunity offers.

Some control of the breath having been acquired, the next point to consider is its application to the vocal organs in producing speech. The vowels and consonants are

elementary sounds of which, when blended into complex forms, words are compounded. "Pronunciation" is simply giving utterance to words, and when clearly and effectively done the vocal act is defined as correct articulation; when many words are spoken successively, with due regard to their emphasis and inflection, the speaker is said to have flexibility of utterance. Words are formed by the action of the tongue, lips, and nose, and consequently the sounds should be articulated by the organs of the mouth, not by those of the throat. To acquire just articulation every word should be delivered perfectly finished; they should not be hurried over nor run one into another, nor should they be prolonged or drawled. When all the vocal apparatus is subordinated to the will so completely that each organ responds to the production of any tone or variation of sound, "flexibility" has been acquired.

An admirable exercise in articulation has been suggested by one writer on the subject. After describing various exercises, he says: "It would be advantageous to take any piece and read it backwards. I do not know of any practice more calculated to produce clear articulation than this. In performing it, great care should be taken to let each word stand out, above and apart from its neighbours. It will, also, be necessary that each letter in the syllable and each syllable in the word should be distinctly heard. And here we may lay down a very good rule—let every letter and every syllable be distinctly heard, unless there be some good reason against it. Take care to enunciate each word as loud as conveniently possible. Breathe between each word. It would be a good practice, and would vary the above, to elongate the syllables as much as possible, and also to read in several keys, or, in other words, with the different kinds of pitch of which the voice is capable."

We quote this because a single experiment will convince any honest person that his ordinary articulation is much more faulty than he would previously have believed, and whatever else a sympathetic audience may condone in the way of harshness of voice, or stiffness of gesture, they will not condone failure in articulation. If a speaker will not take the trouble to make every word he says clear, he will forfeit the sympathy, and very speedily the patience,

of his hearers and be compelled to make room for some more intelligible person.

It should further not be forgotten that clear articulation goes a long way to compensate for weakness of voice, and that sense can be conveyed with a minimum of sound. If the audience are interested at the outset, they bring their eyes as well as their ears into use, and catch every word that is perfectly articulated; it is on this principle that deaf-mutes are taught lip-reading. No pains, therefore, should be spared to make the articulation precise and accurate.

For the rest, the would-be orator must develop the natural tone of his voice in which he is accustomed to speak, and which he can vary and make rotund, guttural, hollow, or even falsetto, according to the nature of the passage to be spoken. No theoretical remarks can be of much service here; only observation of living models coupled with patient practice can avail. He must further consider the question of "time," the rapidity with which he will give utterance to his words; in this case again he must be guided by the paramount necessity of clear articulation, with which neither speed nor anything else must be allowed to interfere; something of the "time" will be indicated by the nature of the passage to be spoken, an impassioned appeal or a fiery denunciation demanding greater rapidity than a solemn exhortation or a critical analysis of the arguments of the other side. Finally, he must pay due regard to proper phrasing and grouping of his words: this has been well defined as "vocal punctuation," and consists in arranging the words of discourse into groups so as to convey their actual meaning, and in separating them by the use of pauses in utterance.

To sum up, anyone with a very little preliminary instruction can learn to control and economise his breath, can acquire nice articulation, and practise effective gesticulation; the rest he can learn best by listening and attending to such good speakers as he may have the opportunity of hearing. By taking pains he may soon hope to become a competent speaker himself. That the trouble to which he may have been put will be well compensated by the event is a self-evident proposition.

III.—OF SOME COMMON ERRORS IN SPEECH.

PRONUNCIATION is an important matter, the difference between correct and incorrect pronunciation marking the difference between an educated and an uneducated man. In ordinary conversation the most common errors are due to carelessness, to a slipshod speech, which is tolerated for no apparent reason, and which many parents only check in their children when it degenerates into such glaring faults as omission of the aspirate or its insertion in places where it should not be. In public speaking, however, correct pronunciation is essential, because failure in this particular exposes the orator to public ridicule.

The rule is that, unless there is some explicit reason to the contrary, every letter and every syllable in a word should be heard, and upon the rule too much insistence cannot be laid, for it is to its breach that all the common errors in speech may be traced. It is unnecessary to refer here to variations in pronunciations so localised as to be known as dialect ; outside these altogether there are a few words in which custom, or what is technically known as *usus loquendi*, justifies alternative pronunciations of the same word.

Thus experts disagree as to whether the aspirate should or should not be sounded in *herb*, *hostler*, *hotel*, *humour*, and *humble*, but all agree in omitting it from *heir*, *heivess*, *honest*, *honour*, and *hour*. It should not be omitted when it follows the letter *w*, but should be given its due value. *What*, *when*, *where*, and *whither* are not the same either in sound or sense as *wot*, *wen*, *were*, and *with* ; yet many people make no difference in their pronunciation, although they would never think of pronouncing *who* as if it were the exact equivalent of *woo*. But while in the few cases given above, the letter *h* is not sounded, there are no exceptions to the rule that it must never be sounded where it does not exist.

In the case of *either* and *neither* again, there seems to be an equal balance of authority for pronouncing the *ei* as if it were *ee* or *i*.

R is another letter which is frequently abused. It should

never be sounded where it has no place. Yet this is often done, especially when a word ending with a vowel is followed by one beginning with a vowel: "the idea of such a thing" and "I saw ra man" are common errors in speech which must be avoided. In what is known as lisping, *w* is sometimes substituted for *r*, so that "around the rugged rocks" becomes "awound the wugged woeks"; this has come to be looked upon as an affectation, but, while it is more strictly speaking an affection, it is a curable one, only requiring a little care and attention to disappear.

A few other cases may be profitably given.

Water is boiled in a kettle, not in a kittle; one gets things from shops, does not git them; and people catch fish, do not ketch them. *G* is often ill-treated, sometimes being clipped, so that going becomes goin, dancing dancin, and the like; sometimes being converted into *k*, so that anything becomes anythink, nothing nothink, and so on. Another fault, more common, perhaps, in singing than in speaking, is the sounding of the letter *n* before giving utterance to vowel sounds; this is due to failure in "attack" and can be overcome by a little watchfulness. Pillar and pillow, principle and principal, necks and next differ in sound as they do in sense; and, finally, many such words as visible, hypocrisy, gospel, goodness, worship, spirit, certain, patience, and others, are marred by having the *n* sound introduced in place of the vowel sounds proper to them respectively, so that visible becomes visubble, worship worshup, spirit spirrut, and so on.

If the one rule for pronunciation be observed, and the very few exceptions to it be learned separately, the orator will be safe from the taunts of those who, having no fault to find with his matter, are perforce obliged to direct their criticism to his manner; and for purposes of ordinary conversation as well, precise and accurate pronunciation should be sedulously cultivated.

IV.—OF AFTER-DINNER SPEAKING.

THE after-dinner speech is on a somewhat different footing from other speeches, and must be briefly dealt with apart from the others. Very broadly, this class of oratory may be divided into two classes : there is the speech delivered in proposing a toast and the speech delivered in response ; it will be seen at once that this rough classification opens up somewhat different possibilities ; the former may be entertaining and light in tone, or eulogistic and deliberately considered ; among those which are formally eulogistic are the loyal toasts, comprising, in their fullest usage, since the accession of King George V., the toasts of " The King " and " Queen Mary, the Prince of Wales, and the rest of the Royal Family " ; it is difficult to imagine that anything new or original can be devised in the matter for these formal speeches, but much may be done by a happy knack of expression to give them freshness and spontaneity. When the banquet is given in aid of some charity more scope is allowed to the speaker, inasmuch as, without encroaching upon the subject matter of the toast of the evening, he may easily and appropriately make reference to the direct interest of their Majesties in all charitable matters, an interest, it may be remarked, which has always been particular instead of general ; unless some member of the Royal Family is present, no response is made to these toasts.

The other complimentary toasts which may be in order on any given occasion, such as the Services, His Majesty's Judges or Ministers, or the Bishops and Clergy of all denominations, while still being formally eulogistic, offer greater opportunities to the speaker from the actual nature of their subject, and care should be taken to direct the speech into such a channel as will give it some personal application to the gentlemen who may severally be called upon to reply.

At annual banquets the toast of the evening is the institution, the regiment, or the firm concerned, and the speech delivered in proposing the toast should always be

planned upon a scale commensurate with the importance of the subject ; it may refer to the history of the institution, to the place it occupies in the social system, to its method of administration, or to several other aspects of the subject. At banquets given in honour of some particular individual, the toast of the evening is " Our guest," and the speech will, of course, be essentially eulogistic, referring primarily to the events which have directly led to the payment of such a compliment as a banquet in his honour, and, secondarily, to the general career of the individual thus distinguished. In all these cases the speech must be carefully considered and deliberately delivered, for while there is no reason why it should not be happily phrased, and every reason why it should not be heavy, it is intended, primarily, to pay a tribute to the individual honoured, and not primarily to entertain or amuse the general company. Purely social toasts such as those proposed at sporting dinners, at weddings, and similar occasions, lend themselves to different treatment, and should aim at being light and entertaining.

What has been said of speeches delivered in proposing these toasts applies, with the necessary modifications, to speeches delivered in response. The art of after-dinner speaking lies principally in adapting one's remarks to the audience, remembering always that there is less of formality on the occasion of a banquet than appertains to orations uttered elsewhere.

It was suggested above, in the section dealing with the preparation of speeches, that inexperienced orators might make the mistake of assuming too much knowledge of the subject on the part of the audience, and consequently of cutting their speeches too short. This suggestion must not be taken as applying to after-dinner speeches. Dr. Lee, of John Hopkins University, in his work, " Principles of Public Speaking," deals with the after-dinner speech, and enumerates the few definite characteristics it should possess.

" First," he says, " it should be brief. Whatever points it makes must glitter like steel and sparkle like the diamond. Wit is also essential, and pathos and fancy should have a place in the scheme. In short, the after-dinner speech,

requiring ten minutes for delivery, needs as careful preparation as the expository address that is designed to occupy an hour in utterance. Nothing should be left to the inspiration of the moment, for the chances are that the banquet room will not have a peg upon which to hang an idea. Not only should the theme be discreetly chosen, but it should be thought out and elaborated until every sentence is clear, and the turn of every word provided for. Let nothing be neglected. Even the anecdotes to be related should be put into the choicest language, and when the speaker begins he should have about him the self-consciousness of ready utterance."

Probably this is as good a description of what such a speech should be as can be given in the space of a paragraph. With regard to the question of preparation, the general opinion will probably be in favour of Dr. Lee's assertion that nothing should be left to the inspiration of the moment, for the number of speakers who can rely upon finding the happy thought and the apt phrase at the critical moment is not large. But, however careful the preparation may be, there are occasions when it may prove to have been wasted. It not infrequently happens that two, or even three, speakers may be called upon to respond to a given toast, and many people must have had the distressing experience of finding their choicest ideas, and even their happiest phrases, anticipated. In such a case there is, of course, no other way open to them but to trust to their native wit and readiness to save the situation.

Frank confession of the fact that the speaker has been anticipated, made in a humorous manner, has before now met with the best sort of reception, and a good memory for anecdotes, apposite or inapposite, is an invaluable possession. Good humour, perfect tact, and a delicacy of feeling that makes one aware instinctively of the general susceptibilities of one's audience, are perhaps the other attributes that go to make a good after-dinner speaker. What has already been said of delivery and clearness of articulation applies, of course, to post-prandial as to all other orations; but with certain obvious reservations it may be said generally that the manner is more important than the matter of an after-dinner speech.

In the following pages will be found speeches and toasts suitable for all sorts of occasions ; they are put forward as outline drawings, from which the beginner may see how to frame the speech which he may be called upon to make in similar situations ; it is not intended that they should be learned by heart and delivered textually ; but, properly studied, they may be profitably used as the basis for original orations ; at any rate, no one who has so studied them need be quite at a loss for something to say, however suddenly and unexpectedly he may be called upon to propose a toast or make a speech in reply.

H. C. M.

SECTION I.

ROYAL PERSONAGES AND PATRIOTIC TOASTS.

THE KING—QUEEN MARY, THE PRINCE OF WALES, AND
THE REST OF THE ROYAL FAMILY—THE SERVICES, ETC.

I.—THE KING. [*Proposed by the Chairman.*]

Gentlemen, the King!—

II.—THE KING. [*Proposed by the Chairman.*]

Your Royal Highnesses, my Lords, and Gentlemen,*—

My first duty is to call upon you to drink to the health of His Majesty the King. I should like to confine my words to the time-honoured formula, "Gentlemen, the King!" being confident that lack of originality in proposing this toast would not be construed as lack of loyalty or sincerity on the part of any chairman. The formula, indeed, conjures up an atmosphere peculiarly British. Wherever two or three Britons are gathered together, the utterance of those simple words recalls their thoughts to their splendid heritage as sons of the greatest Empire the world has ever known—the greatest, not only in its illimitable extent, but in its intention and efficacy to afford free, just, and acceptable government to all whose privilege it is to come beneath its sway. Of that great Empire, His Majesty is the centre upon whom all its splendours are focussed, and from whom all its honours radiate. He is the symbol and the personification of the Imperial idea. In his honour, as such, I call upon you now to raise your glasses. The King, God bless him!

* This address, of course, varies with the company addressed.

III.—THE KING. [*Proposed by the Chairman.*]

My Lords and Gentlemen,—

The first toast which it is my duty and privilege to put before you this evening is one which, I am sure, all present will cordially unite with me in drinking—I mean the health of His Majesty the King. Time would fail me were I to attempt to enumerate the many claims His Majesty has upon our hearts as individuals and upon our loyal attachment as subjects. No matter in what part of the Empire this toast is proposed, it ever meets with a sincere and warm response, and here I rely upon its receiving most hearty recognition. Gentlemen, I beg to give you the health of His Majesty the King; long may he reign over us!

IV.—THE KING. [*Proposed by the Chairman at a Charity Dinner.*]

[Ladies and] Gentlemen,—

Before we proceed to the business of the evening I must request you to drink to the health of His Majesty the King [who has been graciously pleased to permit us to inscribe his name at the head of our list of Patrons. We are highly sensible of the honour thus conferred upon us, and I am sure you will all concur with me in respectfully thanking His Majesty for his condescension]. When, in the future, historians are engaged in studying the working of the Monarchical system in the United Kingdom since the accession of the late Queen Victoria, the characteristic that will most forcibly arrest their attention will surely be the thoroughness with which it has associated itself with all charitable and philanthropic enterprises. This interest has been shared by all members of the Royal House, and was remarkably exemplified in the foundation of King Edward's Hospital Fund, established to commemorate his Royal Mother's Diamond Jubilee. It is unnecessary to elaborate so well-known, so admirable a trait. But it is incumbent to say that King George has followed in the footsteps of his illustrious father. In all matters appertaining to the comfort and well-being of his poorer subjects, their proper housing in health and their proper treatment in sickness, King George sets an example to the world. Gentlemen, I request you to drink the health of His Majesty the King.

V.—THE KING. [*Proposed by the Chairman at a Public Dinner.*]

My Lords and Gentlemen,—

The first toast which I have to propose to you this evening is the health of His Majesty the King. The diffidence that one may habitually feel in proposing any toast at all is diminished when one is called upon to refer to His Majesty, because he presents so familiar and welcome a topic, with so many varied aspects from which to approach it. He has, indeed, identified himself with the life of the nation with singular completeness. An enthusiastic sailor, a keen soldier, a staunch upholder of all outdoor sports and pastimes, he appeals to the instincts of a people that has always been to the front in the manly exercises which contribute so largely to success in the international struggle for supremacy. Nor can we view his devotion to public affairs without feeling in that single-minded zeal which His Majesty has constantly exhibited, an incentive and encouragement to follow, if we may not emulate his noble example. The fierce light that, in the words of a former Laureate, beats upon the throne can only serve to illuminate the many excellent qualities that endear the King to his subjects in all quarters of the globe. By his tastes and personal qualifications, as well as by his birth, he is a fit occupant for the exalted position of sovereign head of the Empire. This much, and much more, may be said without any suggestion of false adulation or time-serving sycophancy, and I call upon you with confidence to drink loyally and enthusiastically the health of His Majesty the King.

VI.—THE KING. [*Speech at a Banquet.*]

Your Royal Highnesses, my Lords, and Gentlemen,—

My first duty is to call upon you to drink to the health of His Majesty the King. It is perhaps the highest honour that could fall to the lot of man to be the Sovereign of an Empire on which the sun never sets. And the responsibility resting upon the occupant of such a throne cannot but remind us of the words which Shakespeare has put into the mouth of one of His Majesty's predecessors—"Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." But one may respectfully say that the King has risen to the height of his unique opportunities, and has gained the affection of his people

and the regard of the monarchs and rulers of the world. His constant concern for the common good has won cordial approbation, and he may be proud to know that he is deemed a not unworthy successor of those whose reigns have made the Victorian era and the dawn of the twentieth century memorable epochs in the history of the British Empire. Moreover, the King's claim to our allegiance is not limited to the title by which he rules, but is based on sympathy as well as on prescriptive right. Of that sympathy every individual in this gathering, representative as it is of many sections of the community, is fully conscious, and nowhere could this toast be more certain of a loyal and sincere reception. I ask you to drink the health of His Majesty the King.

VII.—QUEEN MARY, THE PRINCE OF WALES, AND THE REST OF THE ROYAL FAMILY.

[Proposed by the Chairman.]

My Lords and Gentlemen,—

The next toast which I have to ask you to drink is that of Queen Mary, the Prince of Wales, and the other members of the Royal Family. My task in doing so is a most grateful but, at the same time, a most delicate one ; for while I am impelled to endeavour to give expression to those feelings of affectionate respect which it is the native privilege of their Royal Highnesses to inspire in our hearts, delicacy precludes me, in the hearing of the high personages who honour us with their presence to-night, from dwelling with embarrassing emphasis on the qualities to which those feelings are due. But the unvarying warmth with which this toast is ever received on all occasions, and by all classes, must remind our Royal Family how steadfast and unwavering are the sentiments of personal devotion to them by which we are animated. While never allowing their private inclinations to interfere with the due discharge of the public duties imposed upon them by their station, they have preserved with singular completeness the unity of their family life, a life, be it remembered, upon which our national system is erected. It is largely owing to the example they set to the people in their private relations that they have obtained so firm a hold upon popular sentiment. The picture of the domestic felicity of our Royal Family

appeals to the nation's imagination as being typically national, while their dignity and gracious bearing amid the pomp and circumstance of State ceremonies and public functions stirs its imagination as being so appropriate to the splendid historical traditions of our old Monarchical system. I need not dilate upon the topic, inviting and interesting as it is. I give you, my lords and gentlemen, the health of Her Majesty Queen Mary, the Prince of Wales, and the rest of the Royal Family.

VIII.—QUEEN MARY, THE PRINCE OF WALES,
AND THE REST OF THE ROYAL FAMILY.

[Proposed by the Chairman at a Banquet.]

My Lords and Gentlemen,—

The next toast I have to propose is that of Queen Mary, the Prince of Wales, and the other members of the Royal Family. It is impossible to condense into the limits of a sentence even a single one of the many claims Her Majesty has upon our affectionate allegiance. Her gracious mother was one of the most popular figures not only in the Royal circles which she adorned, but also among the masses of the people with whom she was always a prime favourite. It was, therefore, in accordance with the eternal fitness of things that her Royal daughter should lay a spell upon the hearts of the people of the United Kingdom, which time in his passage has only strengthened. Queen Mary is the object of the personal affection of the poorest and meanest subjects in these realms, as they in turn are the object of her personal solicitude and regard. For her sake alone the toast of her health and that of her children is always certain to be received with acclamation, in which something of personal emotion finds utterance, and I need not advance any other of the many other claims it has to your applause. I call upon you to fill your glasses and drink to the health of Her Majesty Queen Mary, the Prince of Wales, and the rest of the Royal Family.

IX.—QUEEN MARY, THE PRINCE OF WALES,
AND THE REST OF THE ROYAL FAMILY.*[Proposed by the Chairman at a Public Dinner.]*

Gentlemen,—

It now devolves upon me to ask you to drink the health of Queen Mary, the Prince of Wales, and the other members of the Royal Family. It has often occurred to me as a matter of particular regret that so few of the world's crowned rulers come amongst us, save on the occasion of high State ceremonials. Were it otherwise, could they but witness us in what I may call our everyday garb, they could not fail to have many opportunities of beholding the extraordinary affection which the Queen has secured in the hearts of her humblest as well as her greatest subjects. Her Majesty has been known to us from childhood; we have followed with increasing interest every stage of her career, and we cannot but feel that she is the worthy Consort of her illustrious husband, our most gracious King. If this appreciation be just—and, Gentlemen, it is not more than just—what praise can be more signal? Her Majesty has been called to fill one of the most splendid positions on earth, and has discharged the functions of her office with admirable efficiency and zeal. For it may be truly said of her that she is never weary in well-doing. The Queen is keenly alive to the responsibilities devolving upon her, and, we may rest assured, cherishes the occasions that arise for rendering useful and valued service to the commonweal. Her Majesty's devotion to the people has been unceasingly manifested, and those plunged in grief and sorrow have frequently experienced the depth and sincerity of her sympathy. It has been fortunate that the Sovereigns of these realms have ever found willing helpers in their own families, and we hope and believe that, in the future as in the past, every member of the Royal Family will cordially co-operate to promote the best interests of the throne and country. It is, therefore, with particular pleasure that I exercise my privilege as chairman, and ask you to drink the health of Her Majesty Queen Mary, the Prince of Wales, and the rest of the Royal Family.

X.—QUEEN MARY, THE PRINCE OF WALES, AND
THE REST OF THE ROYAL FAMILY.

[Proposed by the Chairman on any Public Occasion.]

Gentlemen,—

I have now to ask you to honour the toast of Queen Mary, the Prince of Wales, and the other members of the Royal Family, and I have no fear as to the manner in which you will comply with my request. For at such times we cannot but remember that the Queen and the Royal Family have undoubted claims upon the confidence and loyalty of all self-respecting citizens. We in this country are proud as well as privileged to think of Her Majesty as one of the constant friends of the people. We do not regard her from afar off with awe—as seems to be the case in other lands—as a being of some other world than ours, but we love her in our hearts as a woman whose chief happiness lies in sparing no pains to make others happy. We are fortunate in a Royal Family which believes in and practises the simple life. Whether our Princes follow the Navy or the Army, or whether they find their truest gratification in the pursuit of Science, or Art, or Literature, or Music, they have always been less concerned with the pomp and magnificence of the Court than with the rendering of useful work to the nation at large, or to this or that section of the community. Few persons, indeed, lead such full lives as do the members of the Royal Family. Wherever a social function has to be performed, wherever sympathy with suffering has to be stimulated and practical assistance secured, wherever public works have to be inaugurated, the call to duty has never failed in meeting with the readiest support from some Prince or Princess. The tax upon their kindness and generosity brings its own reward in the increased attachment of the people to the Crown. I ask you to recognise the worth and work of the Royal Family by raising your glasses in their honour. Gentlemen, I give you the healths of Her Majesty Queen Mary, the Prince of Wales, and the rest of the Royal Family.

XI.—THE IMPERIAL FORCES. [*Proposed by the
Chairman at a Banquet.*]

My Lords and Gentlemen,—

Next to the toasts in which we express our allegiance to the Sovereign and the Royal Family, we are accustomed to drink to those services which exist for the protection of the King and the maintenance and safe-guarding of our Empire—the Army, the Navy, and the Reserve Forces. It has been reserved for the opening of a new century to widen the scope of this toast, and in calling upon you to honour the Imperial Forces, I am using a phrase pregnant with meaning for the future, as it is significant of much that has occurred in the brief past it has already known. No one can fail to remember the thrill that vibrated from the farthest extremities to the very heart of the Empire when, in the opening stages of the last South African war, disaster after disaster befell the British arms; but that thrill was not one of fear or consternation. From whatever reason we had under-estimated the strength and resources of the enemy then opposed to us, and when we learned so rudely that the fifty thousand horse and foot we had despatched with such confidence to Table Bay were inadequate to the task awaiting them, every man in the Empire responded to the call, and the Imperial Forces became a living truth. From Canada and Australasia they came, from English shires and Scottish moors, from country manors and from city desks. Nor was their coming due to a momentary blaze of patriotic fire. It was due to the solemn realisation in the soul of every individual of his heirship in this splendid Empire, and from that realisation has sprung into existence a force of which no one can gauge the ultimate effect. What it can do in war has been demonstrated; but, that done, its possible value only begins to be apparent. For in that prolonged struggle the eyes of the world were rivetted upon the opposing armies. Foreign experts, who could not fail to appreciate the difficulties in carrying on a campaign for so long a time, at such a distance from the base, and in so vast an area of hostile country, saw for themselves the personal valour, dogged tenacity of purpose, and obstinate indifference to reverse that characterised every unit in that large host that gathered together for the maintenance of the Empire. It was an object-lesson which will do more to ensure peace than the most subtle diplomacy or the most sagacious statesmanship. The world is under no misapprehension now as to what our

Imperial Forces mean. It would be out of place for me to attempt to particularise the individual claims of the various branches of the two services to your recognition. British soldiers, regular and irregular, won an equal meed of honour, and in South Africa and China British sailors have proved once again what we may expect from them in times of emergency. For the Army I call upon — to respond; for the Navy I am permitted to name —; for the Reserve Forces, —. I give you the toast of the Imperial Forces, coupled with the names of the distinguished officers whom I have mentioned.

[Replies to the Foregoing.]

XII.—REPLY ON BEHALF OF THE ARMY.

Mr. Chairman,* my Lords, and Gentlemen,—

When I see so many distinguished officers around me, I feel much flattered at having been called upon to return thanks for the Service to which I have the honour to belong. It is always a pleasant thing on these occasions to find that the Army is remembered, and this good feeling on the part of the public towards the Service is very gratifying to the soldier, and is likely to increase his efficiency. It is an easy matter for arm-chair critics to animadvert upon the smallness of our army, and to institute comparisons between it and the armies of foreign powers where militarism is rampant, and army expenditure is proportionately lower than it is with us. But, when all is said and done, I venture to think that the critics will have all their work cut out to substitute conscription for voluntary service, and if, as is the fact, the voluntary system entails great expenditure, we can comfort ourselves with the reflection that the cheapest things are not always the best, and that in the British Army we possess a first-class fighting machine. Undeniably our army is small, and it is inevitable that our soldiers should be called upon to perform manifold and arduous duties in widely differing climates, and frequently under very trying conditions. It is a far cry from Chitral to Coomassie, as it is from Pretoria to Peking, but the names serve to remind us, if reminder be necessary, that the army has never failed us yet, and I am glad to believe that the pluck and cheerful

* Or his name, if he be titled.

endurance of the British soldier is as great as ever it was. At any rate, you may rely upon our always striving to do our duty. Gentlemen, I am exceedingly obliged to you for the manner in which you have received my name in connection with this toast, and on behalf of the British Army, I thank you for the compliment you have paid us.

XIII.—REPLY ON BEHALF OF THE NAVY.

Mr. Chairman,* my Lords, and Gentlemen,—

I have to return thanks to you for the very cordial manner in which the toast of the Navy has been received, and for the kind way in which my name has been associated with it. Iron and steel may have been substituted for the traditional heart of oak of our ships, and science may be an increasingly important part of the training of our officers, but if it ever comes to fighting, it is the men who will matter most, and in *personnel* I am convinced that our Navy still sets an example to the world, and that in the sailors who are now aboard of our fleet and mercantile marine there are worthy descendants and successors of the men who helped Nelson to make history. It does not come within my province to inquire where the theatre of the next great international conflict will be, but, whether it be in the Far East, as some incline to think, or nearer home in European waters, it is certain that if Great Britain is involved in it, her existence will depend upon her retaining her command of the sea. In such an event I am confident that she need have no fear but what her first line of defence will prove as stout as ever it was. I am proud of the Service to which I belong, and thank you in its name for the welcome you have given to this toast.

XIV.—REPLY ON BEHALF OF THE RESERVE FORCES.

Mr. Chairman,* my Lords, and Gentlemen,—

I rise with some diffidence to return my sincere thanks for the honour you have done the Reserve Forces by receiving this toast with such enthusiasm. If the old

* Or his name, if he be titled.

saying that one volunteer is worth three pressed men may be quoted in extenuation of the smallness of the British Army, it may surely be quoted also in favour of our absolutely volunteer forces or Territorials. Those forces were blooded in South Africa, and in the annals of that prolonged and lamentable war nothing but credit was placed against the names of them; the discipline, marksmanship, and powers of endurance they acquired at home stood them in good stead on active service, and the medals that adorn the breasts of so many of our volunteers are the outward sign that the confidence placed in their capacity by experts before the event was not misplaced. Happily, it is not often that there is occasion to call up the Reserves, but if it had only served to demonstrate to us and to the world at large how efficient a force we possessed in them, that war would not have been all in vain. Whenever they are needed they will be ready, and your honour is safe in their hands.

XV.—THE ARMY. [*By the Chairman at a Public Dinner.*]

Gentlemen,—

It again falls to my lot to address you, and I am sure the toast which I am about to bring to your notice will meet with a hearty response from all in this room. This toast, gentlemen, is the Army—the British Army—which has carried our victorious colours all over the world. If we possess the smallest army of any European power, we also possess a very efficient one. Notwithstanding all the criticism that has been expended upon our young soldiers, we must remember that these young men have proved on more than one occasion that they can endure without complaint, and can fight when called upon. But it is the old soldiers to whom we look chiefly, and we are glad to retain them in the ranks. The public has it in its power to make the profession of a soldier very popular, and when the Army finds the civilian appreciative, a reciprocal good feeling is engendered, and the Army will go forth to fight with the enemies of our country with renewed zeal, and, as in past times, with honour, and with eventual, if not immediate and instant success. Gentlemen, I am sure you will join heartily in the toast of our gallant British Army, at home and abroad, coupling it with the name of ———.

XVI.—THE ARMY. [*Reply to the above.*]

Mr. Chairman [Mr. Vice-Chairman] and Gentlemen,—

I assure you that until I heard my name pronounced just now by our worthy chairman when proposing the health of the profession to which I had [or have] the honour to belong, I was quite unaware that I should be called upon to address you. But, fortunately, the able manner in which the toast of the Army has been proposed, and the cordiality with which it has been received, takes a great weight from my mind. You all as Englishmen are proud of the British Army, and, speaking as a soldier, I can assure you that we highly appreciate the good feeling and comradeship extended to us by the non-military portion of the population. In this town we have had frequently to acknowledge the kindness of the inhabitants, displayed by all classes, towards the regiment to which I have the honour to belong [or to command]. We appreciate that feeling, and we shall all regret the inevitable severance of the friendly ties when the occasion unfortunately for us comes, as come it must. Gentlemen, I will not further waste your time by dwelling upon the Army. We try to do our duty, and when we are called to battle, you will find that the old *esprit* is still in the *corps*, and that the old pluck and the same brave heart is beneath the red coat, whatever be the facings, or whatever be the weapons of the wearers. I thank you, gentlemen, on behalf of my comrades and myself for the kind way in which you have received the toast of the Army this evening.

XVII.—THE NAVY. [*Proposed at a Semi-official Dinner.*]

Gentlemen,—

It is my very agreeable duty to request you to drink the toast of the Navy, and to the audience I see before me I need not enter into any details concerning the splendid services rendered to the nation by the British Navy. From the days of Elizabeth, when the bold Drake and his companions went out to harass and finally to conquer the "Invincible Armada," we can point to a roll of victory at sea extending far beyond that of any other nation. England was and is the Mistress of the Seas, and though happily we have not been engaged in any serious naval conflicts, who can doubt that when called upon the iron-clad will repeat the successes of the old wooden walls of which we are so justly proud? Gentlemen, the Navy, if you please, coupled with the name of —.

XVIII.—THE NAVY. [*Response to the foregoing Toast.*]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

I was quite unprepared for the honour done me in connecting my name with the toast of the Navy, and I regret for your sakes, as my hearers, that either my friend ——— or ——— was not called upon to respond, both these distinguished officers being more fitted than I to undertake such an important duty, pleasant though it be. Gentlemen, our worthy chairman has alluded to the services rendered by the British Navy in old days. Those were glorious days for England. But, if war should unhappily break out, there are still glorious days in store for England. We may enter upon a campaign, as we have done, unprepared, our organisation may be incomplete, but in the face of all difficulties, I will answer for it, the British sailor, whose light-heartedness is proverbial, will come to the front as cheerfully and as manfully as ever. I have little to add. The Navy is at present quite efficient and well manned. As an old hand I may regret the great advance of costly scientific mechanism for various purposes, a failure in which may leave us at the mercy of an enemy quite unexpectedly, but the hands on board are as ready as ever, and the ship won't strike up; but in one way it will strike hard, and strike home! Gentlemen, most cordially do I thank you on behalf of my colleagues and myself for the warmth with which you have received the toast of the Navy.

XIX.—THE TERRITORIALS. [*By a Vice-Chairman at a Social Meeting.*]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

Although this is not an official occasion I rise to propose a toast to which I am sure you will extend a cordial reception—the Territorials. To recall the days when the Volunteer was the recognised butt of all the humorous papers is like taking a peep into pre-historic times, but it is instructive to do so, as it affords a fresh illustration of the truth that chaff and ridicule can never kill any movement in which there are the germs of vigorous life. I need not dwell upon the importance of the movement as affording healthy exercise and opportunity of physical development to scores of young fellows just entering upon manhood,

nor upon its value in fostering the patriotic spirit in a country whose whole military system is voluntary. It is to the purely military value of the Territorial force that I would direct your thoughts this evening, and ask you to honour it for the good work it has accomplished. The question whether the training and the marksmanship acquired by them on their ranges, and demonstrated annually at Bisley and other places, would be of practical utility on active service, has been finally answered in the affirmative, and those who wear the South African medal on their breasts are proved as good soldiers as any in the regular army. Invasion of this country—to repel which was the original idea that led to the formation of the Volunteers—has never been a really likely contingency, but it is more improbable than ever now that the Volunteers have shown their worth in war; they made it patent to the world that they are able to give the best possible account of themselves, and their old motto, “Defence not defiance,” has a new significance for any possible foes. We know that defence would be sufficient. Gentlemen, I give you the toast of the Territorials.

XX.—REPLY TO THE TOAST OF THE TERRITORIALS.

Mr. Chairman (or President) and Gentlemen,—

In the presence of so many senior officers, and many of the Regular Army, I may perhaps be excused for feeling somewhat diffident in returning thanks for the Territorials. But there is one point upon which I have no hesitation in speaking, and that is the firm and universal feeling of patriotism existing among the Territorials. They are second to none in their wish to defend their country, and to fight their country's battles if necessary. Our Citizen Soldiers perform their duties with a precision which has called down high praise from the highest officers in the service. When judging the Territorials, we must remember that nine-tenths of them are engaged in mercantile or professional pursuits, and that they have arrived at the degree of excellence which they have attained by strict self-denial and by intelligent attention. There are hundreds of first-rate marksmen among them, and their general conduct in camp has been found very satisfactory. Public

opinion, we know, influences us all, and as a Territorial [and as one who has seen military service in former years] I can speak with confidence of our Citizen Army, and I am convinced it will merit and appreciate any attention bestowed upon it. Gentlemen, in conclusion, I thank you all heartily for the very kind manner in which the toast of the Territorials has been proposed and received, and I trust it will continue to deserve your good opinion in the future.

XXI.—TOAST OF A REGIMENT. [*Proposed at a County Dinner by the Chairman.*]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

It is my duty, and I may add my pleasure, to propose to you a toast which is closely connected with the county in which we reside, and in the prosperity of which we are all interested. You will doubtless have anticipated me in my announcement of the County Corps, and I hope you will all fill your glasses and presently unite with me in drinking the health of Colonel ——— and the Officers and Men of the Royal ———. The Regiment is, as you are aware, a very old-established one, and although the regulations of the service do not permit of us seeing much of it, we would gladly see the Corps more frequently quartered here, for it is composed of as fine a body of men as any regiment in the service; and we hope it will always continue in as good a state of discipline as it is at present. Before I sit down I must say a few words concerning the behaviour of the men now embodied. I am glad in my official capacity as magistrate to bear witness to the very few instances in which the enrolled rank and file have misconducted themselves. In such a large body of men there must be some less well-conducted than others; but owing to the County feeling, and the excellent discipline maintained by the Colonel and Officers, we welcome our County Regiment among us, instead of dreading, as some towns do dread, their presence in our midst. Gentlemen, I give you the toast of the Royal ———, coupled with the name of [Lieut.-] Colonel ———.

XXII.—REPLY ON BEHALF OF A REGIMENT.

[By the Colonel (or Lieut.-Colonel) of the Corps.]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

In response to the call made upon me by my friend Mr. —, who has so kindly proposed the toast of the —, I rise to thank him and you for the flattering manner in which it has been brought before us and received. Gentlemen, I feel deeply grateful for the high opinion which has been expressed concerning the efficiency of the Corps which I have the honour to command. I can truly say that the Regiment is ready and willing to go anywhere and do anything it may be called upon to do. Were we called upon, I am sure we would carry the name of the County unstained, in battle if need be. My poor services have been referred to, but I need hardly tell you that without energetic assistance and *esprit de corps* no regiment can be kept together by any commanding officer. It is in very great measure to the excellent company officers and non-commissioned officers under my command, and, I will add, to the good conduct and zeal of the men, that the real efficiency of the Regiment is due. I am glad to hear such independent testimony to the character of the Corps, and I trust it will always deserve the title and prove worthy of the County with which it is associated. Gentlemen, on behalf of the Royal —, I thank you.

XXIII.—THE NAVY AND THE NAVAL RESERVE.

[Proposed at a Public Dinner by the Chairman.]

[Sir W. — and] Gentlemen,—

The next toast on my list is one which [at a great Naval Station like this] is sure to command your attention, not because of the manner of its proposition, but because of the importance of the toast itself. The toast is the Royal Navy of England and the Naval Reserve. Gentlemen, in every sea, in every country in the world, you will find British ships and British sailors. In commerce, in exploring expeditions, in pleasant days and, it may be, sometimes in warlike attitude, you will always find our sailors doing their duty. We have had lately to lament

several accidents, and the loss of many valuable lives in the Pacific and elsewhere. It is a new phase of the service in time of peace that accidents such as explosions, and even, perhaps, the buckling of fast craft should endanger our valued comrades' lives. But some of these accidents are, doubtless, due to the altered condition of things. Modern Naval warfare is more scientific than of old. Bull-dog courage may be overcome by science, and electricity usurp the place of many brave hands; but we know that in the Navy, and in the Reserve of officers and men, now employed in peaceful commerce, the same tenacity is to be found, and the Heart of Oak is only covered with armour. The oak is as hearty as ever, hide it as you may. The Navy and its Reserve, we know, will do their duty side by side when called upon. So, gentlemen, will you fill your glasses, and drink to the Royal Navy and the Naval Reserve.

[Reply to the foregoing Toast.]

XXIV.—THE NAVY AND NAVAL RESERVE.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

Although an unworthy member of the noble profession which has been so generously toasted by you, I yield to none in my attachment to the Navy, and in the estimation in which I hold it, and the splendid Reserve which so manfully assists the parent profession. It is not for me on this occasion to go into the question of the organisation and efficiency of the Navy. As a member of the service such criticism would be quite irregular, but I can speak for the officers and men who compose the crews of the ships. Fortunately, our squadrons have been of late years confined to police duties, and we have had no engagement or loss of life. But I cannot help feeling that a day will come when all our energy and maritime strength will be needed. Then I trust and believe that we shall find our sailors as ready for action as ever they were, and I believe that the Administration will see that our ships are in as good condition and as well equipped as the honour of our country demands. Ships and guns have all undergone changes. But, whatever the latest development in guns and construction may be, we shall always

want cool heads and strong arms to man the guns, and those we possess in the Navy and the Naval Reserve. Come what may, you will, I assert, find the sailors ready for action, and prepared to defend their homes, their wives and sweethearts, whenever they may be called upon. Gentlemen, in the name of the Service and the Naval Reserve, I tender you our thanks for your reception of the toast.

XXV.—THE NAVAL VOLUNTEERS. [*Proposed at a County Gathering.*]

Gentlemen,—

As Chairman of this meeting it has fallen to my lot to propose several toasts to you this evening, but the toast I have now to ask you to honour requires little explanation. It is that of the Naval Volunteers. I do not suppose that many people can now be found who decry the Volunteers; it is no light responsibility that they have undertaken, but they have satisfied their country of their ability to discharge it efficiently. The Naval Volunteers in particular have to undergo a considerable amount of hardship in their training, and are obliged to apply themselves to their voluntary duties with untiring devotion: those afford them little respite if they would qualify themselves for the service they may be called upon to perform, and in asking you to drink this toast in their honour I am only asking you to make a very inadequate recognition of the debt we owe to them. I couple with the toast the name of —. Gentlemen, the Naval Volunteers.

XXVI.—THE NAVAL VOLUNTEERS. [*Reply to the foregoing toast.*]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

I believe brevity is generally regarded as the soul of wit, and I may promise that I am about to make, in that sense, a witty speech, for it shall be short. The Naval Volunteers, with whom I have the pleasure to be connected, will be very pleased to-morrow when they read of the kind way in which [our Chairman] has proposed the last

toast. I can answer for them fearlessly from my experience of them, and I may add of some other Volunteers, that they are fully sensible of the prominent position they occupy, and are anxious to perform their duties in a manner second to none in smartness and devotion to the country. Some people affect to sneer at Volunteers, but what is the whole Army and the whole Navy but an enrolment of Volunteers? There is no press-gang, no conscription; every soldier and sailor enlists voluntarily. The only difference is that the one is paid for his services as in a profession—and not too well paid; while the other gives his time to learn drill and habits of discipline when his daily work is done. We look up to the sister Services to set us an example we will endeavour to follow; and when duty and the country call us, I trust—indeed, I have no doubt—that we shall be found worthy to stand shoulder to shoulder with our soldiers and sailors as Englishmen should do.

XXVII.—THE TERRITORIALS. [*Proposed at an Official Dinner by the Chairman or Vice-Chairman.*]

My Lords and Gentlemen,—

It is my pleasing duty now to propose to you a patriotic toast, which will be warmly received by all present, and find an echo outside of these walls—the toast of the Territorials. It has been my privilege to command many battalions of the Volunteers in past years, and, speaking as a soldier, I am glad to admit that many of them are quite able to take their place alongside of the Regulars. Their history is a long and honourable one; from small beginnings they have worked their way through ridicule and criticism and many obstacles to a high position in the forces of the Empire. The days when “volunteering” was a Parliamentary expression for playing at soldiers are long past, and Volunteer Regiments nowadays can march and shoot as well as many crack regiments of the line. At Shoeburyness the Volunteer Batteries have always proved themselves artillerists of high calibre, and the Commandant of the School of Gunnery there can testify to the uniform good behaviour and soldier-like bearing of the Territorials. All this work, we must remember, is done from patriotic motives, at a considerable sacrifice of holiday time, and at great expense. No one who has watched the evolution of the force can entertain a doubt that in the Territorials

we have a most valuable reserve; those of them who served in the South African War may be taken as fairly representative of the whole force, and how well the City Imperial Volunteers acquitted themselves is a matter of history; there are many thousands more all as competent, efficient, and zealous, ready if the Empire should have need of them. I do not propose to enlarge upon the subject; the officers should learn to handle their men and to make the best use of them, remembering that they are dealing with intelligent material; the rank and file must be obedient and strict in discipline; thus a mutual confidence will be engendered, to the vast benefit of the force; troops that are led by capable officers, whom they trust and obey, can do anything. I have the welfare of the Force at heart. I recognise its efficiency and its great possibilities, and I ask you to drink to the Territorials, the Volunteer Force of Great Britain, coupled with the name of a very distinguished officer,——

XXVIII.—THE TERRITORIALS. [*Reply to foregoing by Senior Volunteer Officer.*]

Sir W—— B—— (Chairman), my Lords, and Gentlemen,——

The kind, considerate, and very handsome way in which Col. —— has just proposed the health of the Territorial Force, and the hearty manner in which all present have responded to his invitation to the toast, have touched me deeply. I have been associated with the Volunteer movement from its infancy, and am glad to hear such kindly sentiments respecting the organisation from so qualified a judge and such an experienced commander as Col. ——.

The words he has used will be eagerly read and carefully treasured by thousands of our Citizen Army. The kind recognition of their merit, and the no less kindly advice bestowed, will be fully appreciated. Gentlemen, the Territorials are a fine body of men, numbering many tens of thousands. We can put 100,000 men in the field for service if necessary, and such a number of drilled troops, with arms which they are accustomed to use, would tell for much in a campaign. We are glad that the Territorials are being appreciated. Such appreciation will increase their patriotism and devotion, and stimulate them to further exertion. I thank you heartily in the name of

the Territorials for the compliment that has been paid them this evening.

[The following speeches delivered by the late Sir Frederick (afterwards Lord) Leighton, P.R.A. ; by the late Duke of Cambridge, at that time Commander-in-Chief of the Army ; and by the late Lord Northbrook, at the Annual Banquet of the Royal Academy, are retained as examples of formal speeches adapted to the requirements of a special audience. In the particular application of the subject to the audience lies half the art of after-dinner speaking.]

XXIX.—THE SERVICES. [*Speech, in proposing the Services, delivered by Sir F. Leighton at the Royal Academy.*]

Your Royal Highness, my Lords, and Gentlemen,—

Next in order to the toasts in which we express our loving loyalty to the Queen and our loyal affection to Her Majesty's family, is that in which we drink to those Services which exist for the safeguarding of the Queen's dominions—"The Army, the Navy, and the Reserve Forces." A little realm controlling a vast empire, along the wide skirts of which war, ever smouldering, leaps fitfully and too often into flame, a people which tolerates none but voluntary service, and places, not without effort, into the battle front a force which only the highest quality can make adequate to its needs, must ever look with a deep and unfaltering interest on the small but famous army on which a burden of such responsibility is thrown. And Englishmen, turning back to the not unchequered records of the year which divides this gathering from our last, will recall with proud satisfaction a feat of arms not readily to be surpassed, I believe, in our military annals, whether for the prudent audacity of its conception or the brilliant thoroughness of its achievement—I mean the now famous march from Cabul to Candahar ; but they will also recall with gratification incidents of devoted bravery shining out in and redeeming a less bright page in that record—gallant resistance unto the death, where death only could be reaped, and more than one heroic struggle round a threatened flag, as if to prove to us once more what incentive to high deeds lives ever in the folds of that hallowed symbol of a nation's

honour. Unlike the Army, the Navy records an uneventful year ; but the country preserves an unshaken faith that in this period of its rest our fleet is gathering up accumulated strength, and that the day of action, when it comes, will find it, as ever, equal to its task and worthy of its fame. With these Services our toast couples as usual the Reserve Forces, the Militia, and the Volunteers, in the ranks of which force Art is, I venture to hope, not discreditably represented. For the land forces I have once again the honour to turn to his Royal Highness the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, and for the Navy I am permitted to call on the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Earl of Northbrook. I give you "The Army, the Navy, and the Reserve Forces."

XXX.—SPEECH BY THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE IN REPLY.

Sir Frederick Leighton, your Royal Highness, my Lords, and Gentlemen,—

I have so often been called upon to respond to this toast that I feel rather embarrassed by the position I annually occupy, fearing I should say very much what I said before. It is always a great satisfaction to those connected with the Army to feel that they are remembered on these occasions by so distinguished an assembly, composed of men of various shades of opinion and occupying a high position in the different walks of life which they adorn. It shows the sentiment which for so many years has pervaded the general public of this country, and which I trust will ever continue, for it has much to do with the good feeling and efficiency of the Service with which I have the honour to be connected. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has alluded to the gaps occasioned by the removal of some whom we were wont to meet at this anniversary. No one more deeply deplores than I do the death of that great statesman who has recently been taken from among us, but it is very satisfactory to find that such an admirable portrait of him has been secured by Mr. Millais, which will, I have no doubt, be a source of great and permanent interest. With respect to the Army, I may be allowed to say that in a country such as this—which is in no respect a military nation, but following commerce and trade, and seeking prosperity and the various advantages of life which our

free constitution gives us—we have no conscription. We have, therefore, a very small army, and it has great and onerous duties to perform in various parts of the world. The expenditure upon such an army is infinitely greater than is necessary for an army of conscription. In time of peace, therefore, the expenditure is kept at the lowest figure, and when any difficulty or emergency arises it becomes necessary to bring up the efficiency of the Service to the highest point. Therein lies a great difficulty of the Service, and I, therefore, think it wrong when severe criticism is indulged not quite in accord with the general views and principles which pervade this great nation. The Volunteer forces exhibit in a remarkable manner the spirit of the country. These forces are entirely civil, and are brought together by the determination of Englishmen to meet any emergency that may arise. Of these the Artists' Corps is one of the smartest and most efficient. I am glad of the opportunity of paying this tribute to them. The Militia is also a most valuable force. In conclusion, I will only beg again to thank you for the kind reception you have given to the toast.

XXXI.—REPLY FOR THE NAVY BY LORD NORTH-BROOK.

Sir Frederick Leighton, your Royal Highnesses, my Lords, and Gentlemen,—

In behalf of Her Majesty's Navy, I thank you for the honour you have done them. As you, Sir Frederick, have rightly said, there are no particular circumstances which seem to call for any special remarks connected with the Navy to-night, and I turn, therefore, gladly to the associations of the Navy with this distinguished Society. The same causes that have produced the maritime power of our country, and which secure to the toast of the Navy an affectionate welcome in every assembly of Englishmen, have constantly and naturally directed the attention of our artists to naval subjects. Mr. Ruskin has eloquently described the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of adequately representing, to use his own words, "the wild, furious, fantastic, tame unity of the sea;" but we may, I think, accept the praise that he bestowed on the efforts in that direction, of British artists. Turner and Stanfield have left behind them works of genius which will ever

associate their names with the exploits of the British Navy. The works of Edward Cook, too, are justly appreciated for many reasons, but, perhaps, particularly for the faithfulness and delicacy with which he has drawn and painted every manner of craft, from a line-of-battle ship to a Thames wherry. I am afraid that the forms of our modern men-of-war are not so picturesque as those which roused the eloquence of Canning and inspired the brush of Turner; but as we expect that the officers and men of the Navy will show the same qualities in the new as in the old ships, and meet the new conditions of naval warfare with their wonted success, so we may hope that the members of the Academy will have little difficulty in the artistic treatment of our modern ships, and maintaining successfully the position which that branch of art holds in the school of British painting.

SECTION II.

TOASTS ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL.

THE CHURCH AND HER DIGNITARIES.

A CONSECRATION.

XXXII.—THE CHURCH AND OUR BISHOP. [*Proposed by the Chairman at a Consecration Banquet.*]

Gentlemen,—

The toast I have first to propose to you is one which, as Christians and as Englishmen, you will have anticipated. We have to-day been assisting at a ceremony which is at once solemn and interesting. We have been engaged in the work of Consecration—an act which our most worthy Bishop has performed, with the appreciation and with the prayers of you all. We have consecrated another edifice to the glory of God and of His Church—a Church against which all the waves of discontent will never prevail—the Church of England. It is with the building we have been concerned, and it is to the building I will more directly confine my remarks. Our earliest recollections and experiences have been associated with the Church. We have been admitted as children of Christ at the font. We have played beneath the shadow of the tower or spire. We have frequented the church, let us hope, with profit. We have knelt at the altar in our youth and on a very important occasion in our maturer years. The associations of the Church, even those of the churchyard, are pleasing to us, if tinged with a natural regret for those who have only gone before us, received into the true and blissful Church Triumphant. And in connection with the Church our worthy and beloved Bishop occupies a fore-

most position, not only for his attainments, but for the usefulness of his revered office, and the eloquent example and the never-ending sermon of that holy life he leads, as an example for us all. It needs no words of mine to echo his praise. We must all cherish an instinctive reverence for our Church; we must all revere her bishops. Gentlemen, will you please unite with me in the toast of the Church of England and the Bishop of this Diocese.

XXXIII.—THE CLERGY. [*Proposed by the Chairman at a County Dinner.*]

Gentlemen,—

There is, I am sure, no toast more welcome to those I see before me this evening than that I am about to propose, viz., the health of our respected Bishop and of the Clergy of this Diocese. Of the latter I see a goodly sprinkling, and it is with satisfaction that we note the presence of so many of our clergy at the innocent social gatherings and meetings in our county. As a body of gentlemen they commend themselves highly to our friendship, as ministers of religion they have proved themselves able exponents of its truths. I am sure therefore that, acknowledging them as we do, you will honour the toast of the Bishop and the Clergy of the Diocese with enthusiasm and heartfelt regard. Gentlemen, the Bishop and his Clergy.

XXXIV.—THE VICAR OF THE PARISH. [*At an Agricultural Dinner.*]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

Before I propose any of the miscellaneous toasts of the evening, I call upon you all to fill your glasses and drink the health of our worthy Vicar and his coadjutors in the good work of this large parish. We have all, at one time or the other, I hope, felt the consolations of religion in our places in church; but our acquaintance with the Vicar and his assistants does not end here. In our homes we are glad to welcome our Clergy quite apart, but not disconnected, from their holy office. They sympathise with

us in our misfortunes and console us in our bereavements. They rejoice with us in our mirth as well as weep with us in our sadness. We are glad to see them here to-night. The Vicar, as you all know, is a man who has the agricultural prosperity of the county at heart, who interests himself greatly in the progress of agriculture within our borders, and continually finds fresh fields for his energy. Gentlemen, I give you the toast of the Vicar and the Curates—men who have faithfully put their hands to the plough, and who are not looking back, but forward to the great prize they hope to win.

XXXV.—RESPONSE OF THE VICAR TO THE FOREGOING. [*On behalf of himself and his Curates.*]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

As you are all by this time aware, I cannot plead that I am unaccustomed to public speaking. But while thanking our worthy Chairman for the kind terms he has used in proposing this toast, and thanking you for the warm reception you have given it, I will be as brief as possible. Long speeches are wearisome, as well as long sermons. Your Chairman has eloquently alluded to our efforts in the parish, and I am glad to acknowledge that a great deal of the success and social recognition we meet with is due to our parishioners themselves. We may be all that is desirable—I don't say we are not—but, if so, much is due to the kindness and sympathy you extend to us; for we are thereby encouraged to do our very best, with God's assistance, to promote the welfare and happiness of our friends and parishioners generally. We are, I am glad to say, a united parish; it is extremely gratifying to me to add, a religious and well-conducted parish. Your liberality has enabled us to do a good deal, and with your help we hope some day to do more for our community. I am very much interested in the material welfare of the parish, as well as in its moral condition. I am of opinion that cleanliness should walk hand-in-hand with godliness, that drains and houses should be attended to as well as minds and hearts. Providence will help those who help themselves and endeavour to turn to the best uses the means and blessings bestowed upon them. Prayer and work should be associated. The farmer who begged Hercules to assist him to move his cart without himself

attempting to drag the wheels from the mud was acting in a spirit contrary to a great moral law. He was told to put his shoulder to the wheel, and that is what we, all of us, must do. I have already detained you too long, so I will only add my thanks to you all for your kind reception of the toast of myself and my co-workers in the Church.

XXXVI.—THE CLERGY OF THE DISTRICT. [*At a
Hospital Dinner.*]

Gentlemen,—

I must ask your indulgence for a few moments while I propose to you a toast to the health of no one individual, but of several hard-working gentlemen who risk their lives daily and hourly in the service of the suffering and the poor. I refer to the Clergy of this district, without distinction of creed, who in our town, and in our Hospital particularly, minister to the spiritual wants of those who need consolation. All present are supporters of the charity, and as such I see I am addressing individuals of many shades of opinion. We are all I hope *Christians*, and it is as Christians, not as sectarians, that I call upon you to unite with me in the toast. We call ours a Samaritan Hospital: we accommodate the wayfarer, and him who has no friend. Let us emulate the charity of the Good Samaritan; and join heartily in thanking the Clergy and Ministers and Priests of all denominations for their attention during the year. Gentlemen, in the true spirit of tolerance and charity I propose to you the Clergy of the District.

SECTION III.

THE LEGISLATURE.

HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT—LORDS AND COMMONS—LOCAL MEMBERS.

XXXVII.—THE HOUSE OF LORDS. [*Proposed by the Chairman at a Public Dinner.*]

My Lords and Gentlemen,—

The toast I have now the honour to propose to you is the House of Lords ; and though there are around me some who may object to the Hereditary chamber on principle, I venture to say that it will be a very sad day for the country when the House of Lords no longer exists. We have in the Upper House men who have served their country long and faithfully, who as Commoners have done good work for England, it may be in the State or in other ways, and who have been rewarded by a peerage. But on this occasion we have particularly to honour one individual Member of their Lordships' House—one of the old aristocracy who has come amongst us this evening. In him we have a bright and excellent example of the landlord and the magistrate, a peer and, above all, an English gentleman. With this toast of the House of Lords I call upon you all, gentlemen, to drink the health of the Right Honourable the Lord H——.

XXXVIII.—THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT—THE LORDS. [*Reply to the foregoing.*]

My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—

The first feeling which the association of the names of Lords and Commons in one toast may suggest to our minds

XLVII.—THE MAGISTRATES.

Gentlemen,

It is my privilege to-day to propose the health of the Magistrates of the County and Borough of —; and while I gladly comply with the request made of me, I cannot help expressing a wish that the task had fallen to other hands, and a more practised tongue. Fortunately, however, what I have to say has been no doubt anticipated by you all. We are all here aware of the estimation in which the Magistrates are held, the general satisfaction with which their decisions are acknowledged, and the manner in which they devote themselves to a thankless office. The principles of justice are defended by every right-thinking member of society, and here we have the exponents of these principles, and by them we trust peace and happiness as well as truth will be established among us for generations. Those gentlemen who have undertaken the administration of our laws are well known to you all; they have served the State before, they have done much good in their generation. They come before us representing the majesty of the law, and so let us respect them as we respect their office. They are most disinterested in their efforts for our happiness. Socially and officially we regard them with goodwill and respect. Let us drink their healths in a bumper. "The Magistrates of the County of — and the Borough of —."

XLVIII.—THE LORD LIEUTENANT AND MAGISTRATES OF THE COUNTY OF —.

[*Proposed by the Chairman.*]

Gentlemen,—

Once more I must claim your indulgent hearing, but I will not detain you longer than is necessary to bring to your notice a very important toast, which I am sure you will all unite with me in drinking with very great pleasure. I mean the healths of the Lord Lieutenant and the Magistrates of the County. We are most of us aware of the varied duties these gentlemen who hold responsible positions have to perform. Their positions are no hidden positions. They stand out against the

sky-line of public duty, as it were, and all their actions, by observation and report in the papers, are brought clearly before us at the bar of popular opinion.

In such circumstances as these it would indeed be astonishing if they contrived to please everybody, and I would be claiming for these gentlemen an attribute they would be the last to claim were I to say that they always pleased everybody. Such a course is manifestly impossible. Human opinions differ—many men, many minds; but if you will consider a moment I think you will agree with me that the actions of our Magistrates have always met with the approval of the large majority of those who have observed the way in which their duties are performed, and that justice and mercy are well balanced in their judicial minds. The eminently successful manner in which the Lord Lieutenant has always carried out his duties, and the way in which his social qualities have made themselves felt, must be a cause of as great satisfaction to him as it is to us. His kindness and charity, the interest he takes in our County amusements and meetings, are very gratifying to all his neighbours, and those who know him only by name. Publicly and privately he is an ornament to the County, and I will ask you to drink the healths of —, the Lord Lieutenant, and the Magistrates present this evening, coupling the latter with the name of Mr. —.

XLIX.—THE COUNTY MAGISTRATES. [*Reply for the Magistrates.*]

Gentlemen,—

Your chairman has proposed the healths of myself and my brother Magistrates in such very flattering terms that I feel somewhat at a loss to respond to his kind eulogium and the warm manner in which the toast has been received by all present. Your chairman has mentioned the almost universal satisfaction which my colleagues and myself have given in our interpretation of the law; but when you come to look a little into the matter, I think you will see that it is not so much due to us as to the plain directions which we have received, and the assistance that has been rendered to us on so many occasions by those who have put the facts so clearly before us. There are certain punishments to be awarded, and we

have to consider whether in our opinion the facts stated or elicited are to be interpreted in such and such a way. It tends materially to our assistance when we have a clear statement put before us, for then we have but to administer the law upon the principles of justice and mercy. It has been our privilege to act thus, and we are all, I am sure, pleased to think that in so acting we have had the concurrence of such men as our friends here, whose sound common sense and integrity render them very valuable critics. We have, at any rate, endeavoured to do our duty, regardless of public opinion ; but when that opinion, valuable as it unquestionably is, supports us, we feel very happy in having succeeded in gaining your applause. Gentlemen, in the names of my colleagues and myself I thank you heartily for the reception you have given to the toast of the Magistrates of this County.

L.—REPLY BY ONE OF THE MAGISTRATES.

Gentlemen,—

As the hour is waxing late I will not detain you. It is our duty to see that people are not supplied with liquor after twelve o'clock, and therefore I must be brief in my remarks. I have to thank you, sir, and all the other gentlemen present for the very kind way in which the toast of the Magistrates has been proposed and received. We have always endeavoured to bear in mind that justice is kind and the quality of mercy must not be strained. You may depend upon it, that although hard cases may occasionally crop up, the general tendency through the length and breadth of the land is not on the side of severity but of leniency. We do not forget that mercy is the true interpreter of justice, but there are cases when mercy would be misinterpreted as fear and would consequently be misplaced. A suitable severity frequently prevents crime. The law is only a terror for evil-doers ; no honest citizen need fear it, and therefore, when it is necessary to put the law in force with severity and rigour it is presupposed that the offender is not an honest citizen, but an old hand upon whom leniency would be wasted. On the other hand there are many cases when leniency is true mercy, when a caution will suffice to prevent a repetition of the offence. This can be seen by observation of temperament and condition, education and environment

of the accused. So when you hear of "Justices' justice," put yourselves in their place, hear the evidence in the mass, and then decide for yourselves whether, knowing all they know, you would not have done likewise. Gentlemen, I will not detain you longer. Once more I thank you very heartily for the manner in which you have received this toast.

SECTION V.

TOASTS SOCIAL.

WEDDINGS—CHRISTENINGS—BIRTHDAYS—FRIENDLY,

LI.—THE BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

Fashion, I am informed, has decreed that speeches shall cease to be made at wedding breakfasts ; but, admirable as the rule is, and willingly as we observe it, in all other respects, we must honour it in the breach instead of in the observance, so far as the Bride and Bridegroom are concerned. It is a pretty custom, this drinking of healths, conjuring up visions of days when there was a brighter glamour of romance round the events of every-day life than there seems to be now. So I think it is especially appropriate that the old custom should be observed on occasions such as this, for however dull and commonplace life may seem nowadays, compared with the more picturesque life of our ancestors, weddings, at any rate, remind us that romance is not dead, and that love is as young and as beautiful as ever. Let us drain our glasses to the Bride and Bridegroom, wishing them health and happiness ; may prosperity attend them and success in all that goes to make up material well-being ; more than all, may the love which animates them to-day burn as bright and steadfast as each succeeding anniversary comes round, so that all of us who have had the privilege of being here to-day may be glad hereafter to remember that we assisted at the opening of an absolutely happy story of married life. Ladies and gentlemen—"the Bride and Bridegroom" : may God bless them both.

LII.—THE BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I must beg your kind attention for a few moments while I propose to you a toast which I know you will all honour with great and heartfelt pleasure—with as much pleasure as it gives me to propose it, and I assure you that is saying a good deal. I mean, as you have already guessed—Health and Happiness to the Bride and Bridegroom. We have this day assisted at a ceremony, perhaps the most interesting, as it certainly is one of the most solemn, ceremonies of our social life. Two young people have just now in our presence united themselves for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, till death do part them. May their lives be so guided and their path so laid for them that no evil thing nor poverty come near them, and that their loving hands united for many years may keep death at bay. Ladies and gentlemen, if this is a solemn occasion it is also a joyful one. We have around us many smiling and merry faces—some happy in the recollection of their experience, others, I may perhaps say, happy in the anticipation. Gentlemen, when I look upon your fair partners, the bridesmaids, I envy you. Never had young men such a chance; and if the ladies are half as good as they look you should have no hesitation—or rather, perhaps you will have great hesitation—in making a selection, when all are so charming. But now I ask you all to fill your glasses, and standing up drink to the health, long life, and happiness of Mr. and Mrs. ——. May their years be happy and their closing days far distant. May all matrimonial joys be theirs, and may we reckon them among our friends for many years to come. The health and happiness of the Bride and Bridegroom, if you please.

LIII.—THE NEWLY MARRIED COUPLE.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I must call upon your attention for a moment, and though I am loth to interrupt any little confidences between the young gentlemen and their fair partners by proclaiming silence so suddenly, still I think they will excuse me, for I may not have another opportunity to say what I have to say, and I am sure they *will*. I have now to propose the health of the Newly Married Couple, and long

life and happiness to them. This toast is not the mere formality it may in some cases appear. All of us present are acquainted with the Bride who is leaving us to-day; for what we are sure will prove a very happy home, with the husband of her choice. We all do not know him, but even those who have not the pleasure of his acquaintance—I say “the pleasure” advisedly—are certain that he must be a good fellow and an English gentleman, or our dear young friend, Miss —, would not have selected him for her life’s partner. We all lose in her gain, but we are nevertheless happy in seeing *her* so happy, and we will rejoice with her to-day, hoping at no distant date to welcome her and her manly husband amongst us once again. Ladies and gentlemen, I give you the toast—Health, Long Life, and Happiness to Mr. and Mrs. —; and I say, from the bottom of my heart, God bless them!

LIV.—ANOTHER ON A SIMILAR OCCASION.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

It is my privilege to ask you to honour the toast of the day—the Bride and Bridegroom. If a long acquaintance with the young people who have this morning cast in their lot together can constitute a right to propose their health and prosperity, I certainly have a claim. I have known them pretty well all their young lives, and no one rejoices more truly than I do to see their happiness thus assured. They love each other wisely and well. They have every prospect of true happiness—the love and esteem of a very large circle of friends, and enough of worldly goods to bestow. The Bridegroom has the satisfaction of feeling that he is envied by all the young men in the parish; and the Bride is perhaps conscious that many young ladies regard her with as envious eyes as such an unselfish nature as hers could allow to exist, and as much jealousy as the regard all have for her will permit any lady to feel. But this indeed is a very small matter; we may envy, but do not grudge her and her husband the happiness we are certain they will find together. We wish them a long and happy life, with silver and golden wedding-days in store for them, surrounded by those they love. Ladies and gentlemen, I need not insist upon your responding heartily to the toast, since you all feel as I do. May every blessing and happiness attend the Bride and Bridegroom, and long life to them!

LV.—RESPONSE OF THE BRIDEGROOM.

Mr. —, and Ladies and Gentlemen,—

My dear wife and I are extremely obliged to you for the very kind and friendly manner in which our health has been just proposed and received. I am sure I do not deserve all the good things that have been said of me, but I will try to deserve them, and to be worthy of the great treasure which Mr. and Mrs. — have committed to my care. I trust you will pardon the imperfection of my speech—the novelty of my position as a Bridegroom will perhaps plead for my embarrassment; but I am deeply sensible of your kindness, and my dear wife wishes me to thank you most heartily and affectionately for your kind expressions and good wishes towards her. I can say no more than that I sincerely thank you all for your kindness in drinking our health.

LVI.—REPLY BY THE BRIDEGROOM; INCLUDING
A PROPOSED TOAST OF THE BRIDESMAIDS.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I rise with great diffidence after the very high terms in which the health of my dear wife and myself has been proposed, for I am sure I cannot properly thank my friend Mr. —, nor you, ladies and gentlemen, for the very kind way in which you have responded to the toast, and for your generous good wishes for our happiness. I am sure *I* shall be happy, and I will do my utmost to make my wife so; so that she may look back upon this day without regret at having left her home and so many loving relatives and kind friends. We both thank you greatly, and highly appreciate all the tokens of regard you have showered upon us. But before I sit down I have to propose to you a toast. There are some young ladies here to whom my wife is greatly indebted, and to whom I owe a debt of gratitude for preparing her for the altar this morning. I mean, of course, the Bridesmaids. These young ladies have added a grace to the ceremony and a beauty to this assembly which is acknowledged by all, and in my wife's name and my own I thank them for their invaluable attention, trusting that ere long they may each and all be in the happy position to choose their own bridesmaids, and be as well supported as Mrs. — has been this morning. Gentlemen, I am sure you will join me in drinking health and "speedy promotion" to the Bridesmaids of to-day.

LVII.—RESPONSE TO THE TOAST OF THE BRIDES-
MAIDS. [*By the Best Man.*]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

You see before you a fortunate and an unfortunate man—a sort of two single gentlemen rolled into one. Fortunate in being the mouthpiece of so many charming young ladies ; unfortunate in being so unfitted to give their views and opinions due expression. I am sure they are all delighted to have been of use to-day. I can only guess at their feelings, never having served in a similar capacity ; but I am certain they are all pleased to see their old friend so happily married, and determined to follow such a good example when gentlemen turn up—after their own hearts ! Where the eyes of mankind have been I cannot tell ; but I confess it is not saying much for bachelor tastes if they permit my fair friends to be bridesmaids again. For my own part I won't confess too much. You shall see—and now with this mysterious hint I will sit down again, thanking you for the very cordial manner in which the health of the Bridesmaids has been received, and expressing the hope that the bachelors will not permit such sweet blossoms to “waste their sweetness on the desert air.” So, gentlemen, choose partners, and lead out the Bridesmaids, on whose behalf I thank you.

LVIII.—THE GROOMSMEN. [*Proposed by an intimate friend of the family.*]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I will not detain you more than a moment or two ; but I wish to sum up the toasts we have heard to-day by testifying to the energy and usefulness of the gentlemen who have conducted not a little to the hilarity of the breakfast. I mean the Groomsmen ; and perhaps the ladies will honour the toast also—if they have been pleased with their partners, as judging by their merry faces I think they have. I trust ere the year is out we may hear of these young gentlemen playing a principal part in a ceremony similar to that we have seen performed to-day ; and I am sure we wish the bachelors all success in their wooing. Gentlemen and ladies, the Groomsmen, if you please.

LIX.—RESPONSE TO THE FOREGOING TOAST.

Ladies and Gentlemen—particularly Ladies,—

Speaking for myself and my fortunate companions, I thank you all very heartily for proposing and for honouring our healths. We have had such a pleasant easy task, for all arrangements have been so excellently planned, and the ladies who have honoured us with their society have been so uniformly kind—being all dressed alike their conduct *would* be uniform no doubt—that we have had a good time, and really deserve no thanks. But we are delighted to see our old friend — so happy, and wedded under such bright auspices. May the present happiness be but a faint gleam of the pure and perfect joys that true married happiness can attain. We are all very glad that we have been permitted to make our appearance on this joyful occasion, and we thank you sincerely for your toast—for the kind way it was proposed, and the flattering manner in which you have honoured it, which has been a greater recompense than we deserve.

CHRISTENING PARTY.

LX.—THE LITTLE STRANGER. [*Proposed by the Godfather.*]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I must call upon you to fill your glasses once more, and join with me in wishing health, long life, and prosperity to the Little Stranger, whom we have this day introduced into the Christian brotherhood. There can be no doubt that the boy [or girl]—who will be formally introduced to us presently—is the finest and handsomest child that ever lived on earth. Of that we may all rest assured. It may well serve as a model, and we shall perhaps find, as years go on, that it may even be improved upon by the happy and proud parents of the little Christian whose health I wish you all to drink most heartily. It is with no little satisfaction that I find myself here to-day in this capacity of sponsor. I have had the pleasure of knowing Mr. — for many years, and if his charming wife and I are not actually such old friends, she has made my visits to this house so pleasant that I feel quite like

an old friend of hers also. Many of you here have had the happiness of knowing Mr. and Mrs.—— more intimately, perhaps, than I have ; but I yield to none in the sincerity of my wishes for their happiness, and in my good wishes for the long life and happiness of (here insert names of child), who will, if [he] follow in the footsteps of [his] parents, be an ornament to society and a comfort to the family. Ladies and gentlemen, I call upon you to drink the health of —— —, and long life to him [or her] !

LXI.—THE HEALTH OF THE BABY.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

It is with diffidence that I rise in the capacity of God-father to express in the "vulgar tongue," according to my sponsorship, my feelings on behalf of the fine little fellow we have this day ushered into the Church with all reverence. Although my acquaintance with the young [gentleman] is of the slightest, I am sure he will permit me to speak of him by his Christian name, and to wish all prosperity and happiness to —— —. With such an auspicious commencement as this has been, surrounded as he is with luxury and comfort, under the care of parents of whose friendship we are, as any one might well be, proud—enjoying such advantages as these—his prospects will not be marred by any imperfection in my utterance of our good wishes for him. May the rosy promises of his young life be more than realised. May he long live to be a source of comfort and happiness to his parents, the companion and friend of their middle age, and the prop and stay of their declining years. It may be that successors will come to these honours of the first-born, and I am sure we all most cordially wish everything for our kind host and hostess that may tend to complete their happiness. Fill your glasses, bumpers please, ladies and gentlemen, and drink with all the honours to the health and long life of —— (here mention names). God bless him !

LXII.—REPLY TO THE FOREGOING TOAST.

[*Spoken by the father.*]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

The touching and hearty manner in which my old friend has so kindly proposed the health of my little child demands my warmest acknowledgments, and your kindness in coming here to-day to welcome the little stranger and to cheer him upon the first stage of his existence, my wife and I accept as a great compliment and highly appreciate. I scarcely know how to thank you for all your good wishes. Many very handsome and flattering things have been said of my wife and myself which we do not deserve. But there is at any rate one point upon which I can speak, and that is the pleasure it has given us to be able to welcome you here to-day. It is always a pleasure to us to see our friends, but when acquaintance and friendship have been matured by regard and esteem it is doubly a pleasure to see one's friends, as on the present occasion; and we hope that we shall see you—if not in similar circumstances, at any rate often enough to cheer us up and enliven our quiet home. We are greatly obliged to the friends who have so kindly consented to stand Sponsors for the little one, and we tender our sincere thanks to them and to you all, for your presence and presents, your company and your good wishes. Before I sit down I would ask you to drink to the Sponsors, the Godmother and the Godfathers, here to-day. Their healths and their families—may they all live long and prosper!

LXIII.—RESPONSE OF THE GODFATHER TO THE TOAST OF HIS HEALTH.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

Speaking for myself and the ladies [or lady and gentleman] who have shared with me the duties of Sponsors, I may say briefly how much pleasure it has given us to officiate upon such a delightful occasion. With such example and precept before him [her] in the persons of his dear parents, we shall find no excuse for interference in training him [her], and though we hope never to lose sight of the lad [young lady], and though, if opportunity arise, we

hope to forward his views in life, we shall only look back upon our self-imposed duty with pleasure and a lively recollection of enjoyment. It has afforded us a very pleasant opportunity to testify to our regard for Mr. and Mrs. —, and we thank Mr. — for so kindly proposing our health, and you for so warmly drinking the toast. Thank you all most heartily.

BIRTHDAY PARTY.

LXIV.—THE HEALTH OF THE HERO OF THE DAY. [*Proposed by an old Friend*]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

A very pleasant duty has devolved upon me to-day, and I only regret that I cannot do the subject more justice. I have to propose to you the health of Mr. —, and to request you to drink the toast, wishing him many happy returns of the day. As one of his oldest friends I may be permitted to say a few words concerning him, and to express to those around me the great gratification that association with him has given me and all with whom he came in contact. It is enough for me to say how respected he is, and how kind-hearted. Many of us have had examples of his goodness, and all have experienced his kind hospitality and generous entertainment. We recognise many present here who have grown up with our friendship, and it is a great and sure test of truth in friends when we see year after year the same smiling faces round the board. Such a father, husband, and friend as Mr. — is as a beacon set upon a hill, as a lighthouse to the mariner, a guide, philosopher, and friend to youth, a public benefactor, both by the example he sets, and by the good he does in public and private life. Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure you want no word of mine to convince you of our friend's noble and amiable qualities, nor will I longer detain you from the graceful homage we are all desirous to pay in wishing Mr. — many happy returns of his Birthday.

LXV.—REPLY TO THE FOREGOING TOAST.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

My old friend, my very esteemed friend, Mr. —, has almost taken away my breath by the eulogy he has pronounced upon my unworthy self, for I am but too painfully conscious how far short I fall from the ideal he has conjured up for your inspection. But in one sense he is right. I am thankful to have so many kind friends, and very glad to welcome you all. I am not so young as I was, and as we begin to descend the ladder of life we are brought face to face with many rough steps and many "hard lines," which we had not noticed before. But even in these circumstances the support of our friends is enough to cheer us up; and the friendship I can fortunately lay claim to, and which I have enjoyed for so many years, is a cheering light upon my downward road. My friend Mr. — was kind, too kind, to give me credit for the power of retaining friends. But we must remember that as it takes two to make a quarrel, so it takes two to make a friendship. It is not a one-sided arrangement. To you, my friends, much of my happiness must be ascribed, and by your coming here to-day you have given me much pleasure. Thank you very much for your good wishes, and I trust we may all be spared to meet here for many a year to come.

LXVI.—ON COMING OF AGE—"THE HEIR." [*Proposed by an old friend—Trustee or Clergyman.*]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

The toast of the day has been allotted to me, and highly as I appreciate the honour of having been selected to propose the health of the young Squire, who comes of age to-day, I could wish for your sakes that the task, agreeable though it is, had been entrusted to someone more competent to discharge it. And yet it is possible that my very shortcomings may, in a measure, be a tribute to my subject, for surely it is for what one feels very deeply that it is most difficult to find words. Festivities like the present are perhaps more moving to the old friends of the hero of the occasion than they are to the hero himself; for to us they emphasise the fact that one-and-twenty

years have passed since we gathered here to celebrate the arrival into the world of the infant who is to-day a man, while to him they mark the termination of his state of tutelage and his assumption of the privileges and responsibilities of manhood. In this case the privileges and the responsibilities are great ; it is a goodly heritage to which the young Squire will succeed some day, and a fine old English gentleman whose successor he will be : but " like father, like son " is a good proverb, and we who live here recognise in the son much that we love and admire in the father, see in the heir the imprint of goodness of heart and gentle disposition, the pluck and the manly tenderness which characterise the Squire. And, seeing this, we have good ground for our belief that he will all his life continue to bear without reproach the grand old name of gentleman, as his father and forefathers have done. Between us and him there is something more than personal affection : there is that traditional regard and esteem which has come down from our several ancestors, and which is so peculiarly characteristic of our national life. The compliment we are paying this young man to-day has been paid on this same spot to his progenitors by ours, and we are contributing yet another pleasant association to a place that already is a garner full of them. Ladies and gentlemen, bumpers if you please : long life and happiness to the Heir, whom may God Almighty bless.

LXVII.—REPLY TO THE FOREGOING.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

You have all heard the very touching speech with which my kind old friend has so generously proposed my health, and I am sure I cannot thank him enough for his words and the manner of them, nor can I thank you sufficiently for the way in which you have received the toast. Mr. — has been so kind as to say much good of me. I only hope I deserve it all ; but what good I possess I owe, under Providence, to my parents primarily, and then to my kind and patient instructor himself, who have taught me to look upon the bright side, and to live as an English gentleman. I am fully aware of the great responsibility I have now entered upon, and I hope all here—all the tenantry—will look upon me as their friend, as one who has been placed in a position by Providence to do good ;

not to oppress and find fault, but to make good use of the riches committed to my charge, and to give an account to my Master when the great day of reckoning shall have arrived. That is my view of my position. My fathers and your fathers have lived in harmony and peace, in giving and taking for each other's good, for centuries. Let us continue in the same lines, appreciating the responsibilities of owner and occupier, of landlord and tenant, endeavouring to bear each other's burdens, and to live in charity with all men, and when in time we are called away, let us leave to our descendants, as our fathers have left to us, a legacy of freedom and self-respect, with mutual goodwill and regard. My friends, I need say no more. I heartily thank you all for your good wishes, and trust that you will give me your kind assistance as I proceed on my way. Once again I thank you all most sincerely for the manner in which you have received the toast.

LXVIII.—THE TENANTS. [*Proposed by the Landlord or Agent.*]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

Before we separate I must ask your indulgence for a few minutes while I give you a toast, which I am sure you will heartily join me in drinking. Many of you when driving here this morning were, I have no doubt, struck with the appearance of the land ; and many of you were pleased, I hear, with the kind reception accorded you as you drove along, and the pleasant recognition you received. Well, ladies and gentlemen, the pretty scenes and the kind reception we have met with, the decorations and the welcome, are the work of the tenantry on these estates, and I would call upon you to drink the health of the Tenants and long life to them. I have been here for many years, living, I am glad to say, in peace and harmony, ever trying to do my duty [as a landlord], and receiving much kindness and assistance from my friends here. We have had many improvements since I came here, and I think I may without vanity point to our land and our parish as a model one. We have our troubles occasionally—we should not be mortal were it not so—but I must candidly admit that the tenants of this estate have always been most worthy and excellent men and women, with whom I have had the greatest pleasure to co-operate. I am thankful to remem-

ber that amid all the trying times we have got on so well together, and I trust our connection may last for many years. Ladies and gentlemen who have come here to-day, I trust you will unite with me in drinking to the health of my very good friends the Tenantry, and wish them every happiness and prosperity, a state of things which I on my part will leave nothing undone to secure. I give you "The Tenantry."

LXIX.—REPLY TO THE TOAST OF THE TENANTS.

[*By the Senior Tenant present.*]

Mr. —, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

As the oldest tenant present—and as the oldest person here, I believe—I understand I am best suited to return our very heartfelt thanks to Mr. — and you for proposing and drinking our health so warmly. Mr. — has been so kind as to say something about us Tenants, and I should like to say something about him as a landlord and Squire. I won't say much—not that I couldn't say a great deal of him, and all of it good, too; but perhaps I ought not to detain you by speaking. Still I can say for myself and my friends here, for all the tenants on the estate, that he's a "jolly good fellow"—and nobody can deny it. If we are prosperous—and we needn't go into the question—he has our interest at heart, and has always assisted us. If we are not prosperous, we know he will be considerate, and not visit upon us the results of bad seasons. He knows we try to do our best and pay our rent and be comfortable. We try all we can, and if we succeed he is glad and can rejoice as well as we. I am speaking for all of us when I say that we are a happy and contented parish, respecting our landlord and each other, and glad to have such a Squire about us. Let us drink his health, and wish long life and happiness to him and Mrs — and the children, with all the honours. Hip, hip, hurrah!

"For he's a jolly good fellow,
And so say all of us."

LXX.—SPEECH OF THANKS FOR THE TOAST OF HIS HEALTH, SPOKEN BY THE SQUIRE.

My Friends,—

For I look upon all present as such—I thank you all most heartily for the enthusiastic manner in which the toast of our health has been received, and Mrs. — and myself also wish to express our appreciation of the good feeling that prompted my old friend and good tenant, Mr. —, to propose it. We are very much obliged to him and to you all. It is very seldom that a man hears so much good of himself as I have heard to-day. I am quite sure that it was all well meant, but I am afraid my good friend yonder was carried away by his feelings to paint me in brighter colours than I deserve. At any rate I will not complain of his generosity, but if I have fallen short of all I wished to do—and I feel I have—I must endeavour to live up to the standard you have in your minds set up, and try to make the remainder of my life—which has been passed amongst you, and will continue to be passed here till I am carried into God's Acre yonder—as profitable and as pleasant to all my neighbours as I can. I can with gratitude and thankfulness look back and recall much kindness which I and my family have received at your hands, my friends; and I hope in the future our mutual relations will remain as pleasant as they have been in the past. For richer, for poorer, for better—not for worse, I hope—I am here, and at your disposal, till death do us part, and I believe and feel we shall continue our pleasant relations. Thank you again very sincerely, my friends, for your warm welcome to myself and my family, in their names and my own

LXXI.—SPEECH FOR A SILVER WEDDING.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

On such an occasion as the present it is not necessary for me to inflict a long speech upon you, for I am sure you are all in accord with my sentiments, and will agree with me in the expressions and remarks which I am about to offer. We are here to-day as guests of our most highly esteemed friends, Mr. and Mrs. —, the twenty-fifth anniversary of whose wedding-day we are so delighted to celebrate. Such congratulations—and I am sure none will be more

heartily than yours—it would be a pleasure to us all to offer in any circumstances, and any where; but we feel the enjoyment more particularly under our friend's own roof-tree, seated, or rather upstanding, to drink their health, at their own hospitable table, amongst their children, and other relatives, and friends.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have had the honour of the friendship of our kindly host, Mr. —, for more years than I would care to hint at if that long friendship had not been a source of congratulation to myself. I am conceited, some may, perhaps, think, in claiming the honour; but I am proud of my friendship, and think, in my selfish view—you must excuse me for saying publicly what I have often thought—that I am not altogether an unworthy citizen when so greatly honoured as I feel I am.

You are all of you as well aware as I, how excellent a man our host is. I venture to say to his face, that no kinder husband and father, no more steadfast friend, no more cheerful companion exists amongst us, although we have many kind friends and worthy neighbours in our midst.

I remarked just now on my, I think, proper pride in possessing the confidence and friendship of Mr. —; but, have we not more to congratulate ourselves upon in the charming intimacy and friendship of our hostess, whose many acts of kindness and courtesy are in all our minds? Let us, then, while heartily offering them our congratulations, hope that they may be spared for many years to fill the position which they at present adorn.

Twenty-five years, ladies and gentlemen, is a long spell. It exceeds one-third of the generally allotted span of our mundane existence. For that space of time, however, our dear friends have been united in hymeneal bonds, the most sacred ties by which we mortals can be bound. All those years they have stood as an example of domestic felicity and of Christian virtues—patterns for us all. We elders have seen the "olive branches" growing up round their table; we have watched with interest and affection the sons springing up like the young plants, and the girls, the graceful "polished corners" of the Psalmist—the prop and stay of the domestic temple, the ornaments of this truly domestic hearth. We have seen sorrow and trouble shadow the house, but we have rejoiced and wondered at the fortitude and the pluck and the Christian resignation with which such trials have been endured. Let us make this our example; let us profit by it too. . . .

I will not detain you longer; it only remains for me, on this most auspicious anniversary, to call upon you to

fill your glasses, full bumpers, and with all your hearts drink the toast I propose, viz :—

Health, Happiness, and Prosperity to Mr. and Mrs. —, with many Happy Returns of their Wedding-Day. May every blessing attend them in future and for evermore. Now then, three times three ! Hip, hip, hurrah !

LXXII.—ANOTHER PROPOSAL.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

My friends, I have been requested this evening to undertake a duty, the *duty* sense of which is entirely lost in the pleasure it affords me to perform it. It is an act of friendship, and I feel honoured in having been requested to propose the toast which you are all anticipating. My object, as you have divined, is to call upon you to drink the Health and future continued Happiness of our kind Host and Hostess, whose Silver Wedding we are celebrating to-day. We are sure that the cup of our host's enjoyment is full as is his quiver of offshoots, worthy branches of the parent trees. Gentlemen and ladies, we must unite most heartily in this toast. On such a day no melancholy retrospects, no feeling of unpleasantness, must be permitted to intrude from any source. Troubles come in time to us all. But instead of thinking of the crosses and worries, the cares and difficulties which may during twenty-five years have come upon us, let us rather thank Heaven that we have had the strength to surmount them, and to enjoy the blessings we possess !

Five and twenty years appears a lifetime to the young, but Time has dealt leniently with Mr. and Mrs. —, whose health I am about to propose. Old Time, the age-ing one, has not dared to lay an unkind finger on such kindly heads. On the contrary, he spares them ; he respects them, and though he delights in plaguing less deserving mortals, he passes smiling by our host and hostess year after year.

Youthfulness, merriment, good-humour, cheerfulness, sit at their board and defy Time. Age cannot wither, and it never will wither, those kindly hearts, those generous spirits, which preside over this household. They ward off his attacks and reach the Silver Wedding-Day with hearts young, and faces as bright as polished silver itself, reflecting happiness all around them ! We know the

Christian virtues they possess, the *bonhomie* and kindness they practise, the silent charity which desires no reward, the unostentatious practice of good works.

So, ladies and gentlemen, "uprouse ye" merrily. It is not our "opening day"—it is the twenty-fifth anniversary of a happy day, often to be overtaken, let us hope, in future years. The sparkling silver will change gloriously into the Golden Wedding-Day; the long, happy vista of earthly bliss for our dear friends, whose health we drink, will extend adown the path of life. The spring is gone, it may be; the summer is passing, perhaps; but there is yet the golden-lined autumn of their lives to come, when the harvest of good seeds shall be reaped in troops of friends and loving memories. There will be no winter for them; the Golden Wedding-Day will mingle imperceptibly, in happiness, peacefully, with the still more radiant Eternity where, hand in hand, as in life, our beloved friends shall walk through bliss unspeakable for evermore!

It needs not my imperfect words and halting speech to indicate to you the way in which the toast should be honoured. I will, therefore, merely give it you, and beg you in heartfelt manner—as I am sure you all will—to drink to Mr. and Mrs. — with hearty congratulations on this anniversary—Health and Happiness in future, and Many Happy Returns of the Day. God bless them!

LXXIII.—REPLY TO TOAST OF "SILVER WEDDING." [By the Husband.]

Mr. —, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

You will, I am sure, compassionate me in the position in which I find myself. I am not, of course, referring to the matrimonial state, but to the position in which I have been placed by the—as far as I am personally concerned—undeserved eulogies of my old friend who has so eloquently proposed my wife's health and my own, and who has spoken so highly of all our surroundings.

Ladies and gentlemen, what can I say to thank you save that my dear wife and myself *do* thank you from the bottom of our hearts? In her name and my own I must tell you that we do not deserve the praise you have lavished on us: but I may also tell you that for more than twenty-five years my dear wife has exercised an influence for good upon me; so unselfish has she been, so kind and

affectionate, that she has moulded my coarser clay into something better and finer than it would have been without that gentle, loving influence, that touch of sympathy, that firmness of character, the tact, the power of understanding, which has made my dear wife our guiding star and our chief object of admiration.

I said for "more than twenty-five years" this influence has been over me. Yes: twenty-seven years ago I first met my wife that was to be, and is! Those were happy days—foreshadowing the happier ones yet to arrive for us; and now it is with pardonable pride that I can look around me to-day, here in my own house, after so many years of hard work, of struggle at times, of sorrow and sickness at times, but always cheered by my better half: truly my *better half*—and in later times by the companionship of my children also.

Ladies and gentlemen, one and all, I thank you in the name of all my family. We are delighted to see you here, and if we are spared we hope you will again at some future time honour us with your presence. Talking of "presence" reminds me that we owe you another vote of thanks for your charming gifts, a kindly remembrance of our wedding-day. For these, much thanks! I am sure you will excuse my saying more now. Your kindness has touched us very deeply, and I am unable to proceed further; but you will quite understand how highly, how sincerely, my wife, my children, and myself appreciate and feel your kind expressions, and reciprocate your good wishes. Ladies and gentlemen, once again we thank you from the very bottom of our hearts!

LXXIV.—ANOTHER REPLY. [*By the Husband.*]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

My valued friend, Mr. —, whose more than kind speech you have just heard, and so very generously endorsed, made some very personal remarks about my wife's age and my own, but he forgot that he is younger than I am, and has no business to chaff his elders after dinner! Time has dealt leniently with us, he said, and in a measure that is true, but if it is the fact that he has not severely scored my face with furrows nor unduly whitened my hair, it is not only to him that my obligation is due. It is not time that ages us so much as care and worry, and it is to the

brave courage and sweet influence of my wife that I owe my freedom from those scourges that break men down so often. Troubles we have known, indeed, and sorrows to which man is born as the sparks fly upward. But troubles shared and sorrows borne together lose half their force, while the joys and happiness that a merciful Providence has bestowed upon us have been doubled by being bestowed upon us jointly. Twenty-five years ago to-day I faced the world full of high hope and with my cup of happiness brimming over, and before you all I declare to-day that though I live to three-score years and ten, and be so strong that I come to fourscore years, I shall never overtake my sense of thankfulness to Almighty God for having bestowed upon me such a mercy as is incarnate in my dear and honoured wife. And as for yourselves, let me speak to you from my heart in my wife's name and in my own. You have very, very kindly—most generously—responded to the toast which our valued friend Mr. — has proposed. Not only for this kindness, but for your presence here to-day, we most heartily thank you. You have honoured us in deed and in word ; have accepted in far too generous a sense my own small merits : but though I say it, you *cannot* overestimate my dear wife. In this sense of goodness she has her "separate estate," unalienable, on which she can draw heavy drafts, always fully honoured at the hands of her friends and acquaintances. Gentlemen and ladies, I endorse your praises in this respect entirely.

So let me tell you again, we thank you, Heaven knows how truly and sincerely, for your kindness and good wishes. May they be fulfilled. If it please God, we shall all meet again in the near future here ; and I trust again in the more distant haven of rest hereafter. Ladies and gentlemen, I echo your sentiments. May you all be happy, as I am—as we are ; and I say to you, as you to me, with all my heart, in the name of all near and dear to me, God bless you every one !

SECTION VI.

SPORTING TOASTS.

FOR CLUB AND HOUSE DINNERS, AND CONVIVIAL
OCCASIONS.

LXXV.—AT A CRICKET* DINNER—"OUR OPPO-
NENTS." [*Proposed by the Captain of the
Victorious Eleven.*]

Gentlemen,—

As chairman of this very pleasant meeting, I have a toast to propose to you which, after what has already passed to-day, and judging by the good feeling which animates us all, I am sure the team of which I have the honour to be captain will drink with much pleasure. The toast is the health of the — Eleven, our courteous and able opponents in the field. We have had a capital game, and if by the glorious uncertainties of Cricket it has so happened that our team has won the match, we are quite ready to acknowledge what trouble we had to make the runs, and to avoid the ready hands in the field, and keep up our stumps, before such bowling as our friends can command. At one time of the play I really began to tremble for our laurels ; it looked as if our hard attempts to snatch victory must surely be defeated. But I am glad for the honour of our club that we won, though I am sure—if my friend the captain of your team will permit me to say so—that if close fielding and steady work deserve success (as they do) we shall not win again in a hurry. Now, gentlemen, I need not detain you much longer. We have had a good battle, and won it, I am glad to say, and I trust

* With the necessary alteration of technical terms these cricket toasts will do equally well for football dinners.

all of us here may long be spared to play the noble English game—a game which brings forth all the manly qualities of the Englishman. Our pluck, endurance, patience, steadiness, and obedience are all required when we enter an eleven. If obedience is the first duty of the soldier, it is not less a very important duty of the members of a cricket eleven. Selfishness must be entirely put aside in cricket. The captain is responsible, and until he be declared unfitted he should be obeyed by all playing members in the field or pavilion, as far as the conduct of the game is concerned. This harmonious working is the secret of success, and by a steady continuance in such a course, with plenty of practice and goodwill, no eleven, however crude at first, need despair of winning its way. Gentlemen, I give you the — Eleven, coupled with the name of Mr. —, that most able captain and cricketer, and my very good and kind friend.

LXXVI.—RESPONSE TO THE FOREGOING TOAST.

[*Spoken by the Captain of the opposing Team.*]

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice-Chairman, and Gentlemen,—

Your Captain has proposed our health in such very complimentary terms, and expressed himself so kindly towards his beaten but not humiliated adversaries, that I cannot quite decide in my own mind which to admire most—his prowess with the bat and in the field, or his courtesy and eloquence in the cabinet. At any rate I need not try to decide now. I have to thank him for the manner in which the toast was proposed, and you, gentlemen, for the way in which it has been honoured. You won a well-contested match, and without wishing to disparage my excellent team, I think the best men won. But we are not going to sit down and accept this issue as final. We do not intend—and I think my friends will agree with me that we are right—we do not mean to give in. We hope you will meet us again, and on our own ground, where if we cannot entertain you as hospitably and as generously as we have been entertained here—though we will try that too—we will certainly meet you in friendly rivalry and fight our battle over again. As we grow older these harmonious contests are sure to influence us for good, and cement the school or university friendships we have made. They give us much real pleasure, and when we are stiff-jointed and unable to take our place in the field, we shall be able to tell of

many a pleasant game, and shoulder our bats to show how matches were won. Gentlemen of the —— Cricket Club, I will only add my thanks and those of my colleagues for the very kind reception you have given us.

A CRICKET CLUB ANNUAL DINNER.

LXXVII.—SUCCESS TO THE —— CLUB. [*Proposed by the Chairman.*]

Gentlemen,—

You are doubtless anticipating the usual speech from the chair, and I will not keep you in suspense very long nor tire your patience. The report of the club, showing its financial position and the result of the last season's working, has already been placed before you. You will have noticed that the matches in which the club [and ground] engaged were more numerous last season than in the previous years. The receipts from members, and subscriptions, have increased, and there are two very satisfactory points connected with the past season, viz., the funds are in good condition, we having a very respectable balance in hand, and the club has won [nine], lost [four] and drawn [three] of the contests it has engaged in with other elevens.

I am glad to welcome so many new members to our ranks; but the number must necessarily be limited. We have not accommodation for more than a certain number, and on one or two occasions already some dissatisfaction has been expressed at the want of accommodation. Well, gentlemen, the committee have done all they can, and have succeeded in keeping the club solvent. But if more accommodation for match days is to be provided, and the committee were glad to see that ladies mustered in larger numbers to encourage them, they would suggest a slightly increased entrance fee upon big match days, or the issue of season tickets to friends of the members duly introduced. This would give them a fund to draw upon and entitle the holders to seats.

There have been no accidents of any consequence, and some excellent cricket has been shown. We have now a very excellent eleven, and I am happy to be able to announce that there are some promising "colts" in the district, who will have an opportunity of trying their mettle on an early day in the ensuing season.

I am glad to see that our noble and manly national game still keeps its hold upon the country. I do not think cricket was ever more popular. We have seen in various parts of England a Colonial eleven carrying nearly everything before them—by patience when an up-hill game had to be played, and by brilliant dash and rapid scoring eventually pull a game “out of the fire.” What man has done man may do, and I hope the day is not far distant when not only one English eleven, but many, will be able, by putting aside jealousies and working in full harmony to come out victors against any Colonial team. On the other hand, we ought to rejoice that our kindred beyond sea have such a relish for the old English sport, and prove so readily that they are real chips of the old block, possessing all the good qualities of the race of Englishmen. There is a good deal to be said about the game, but as so many of you here are much more familiar with the practice than I am, I will spare you my theories as to the mode of playing it; and my moral reflections I am sure you will be content to take, like the report, as read. Gentlemen, I have now only to give you the toast I rose so long ago to propose, and for which you have so kindly waited. I will try your patience no longer. Success to the — Cricket Club, and I will couple the toast with the name of the Hon. Secretary, Mr. —, to whose exertions the club owes so much of its success and high position.

LXXVIII.—RESPONSE TO THE FOREGOING TOAST.

[By the Hon. Secretary of the Club.]

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice-Chairman, and Gentlemen,—

It is very gratifying to me to hear my name coupled with the success of the — Cricket Club, and the feeling ought to be—but, alas! for poor human nature, is not—diminished by the reflection that the honour is in great part undeserved. The energetic Committee, of which I am only a member and the mouthpiece, are really the working body, but what I have done I can assure you I have done *con amore*. I am very fond of the game, and at one time took some little part in it. Should circumstances and occupations permit, I may again be able to put aside the pen for the ball, and sing, “Oh, willow, willow,” when I grasp my old bat once more. I am very glad that the club is in such a flourishing condition, in the ledgers as

well as in the scoring books. The matches have been won by sheer hard work and drilling, and to this increasing success the club is mainly indebted to Mr. —, our energetic captain. The success is his, and his merry men have "backed him up" well. He has been bold as a bowler, and his manner of "driving" shows how well he is fitted to handle a "team." We all have recognised his "powers of defence," and have never known him "stumped" in argument or repartee. With such qualities he appears *cut* out for the position of captain, and I hope that the time is *long off* when he will retire. That he will make a *point of long stopping* with us, and "running out" the eleven to victory for many more seasons, is, I am sure, our heartfelt wish. Gentlemen, in thanking you for the honour you have done me, I would crave permission to propose the health of Mr. —, the Captain of the Eleven, and long life to him.

LXXIX.—RESPONSE OF THE CAPTAIN TO THE FOREGOING TOAST.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

My friend the Honorary and honourable Secretary has made a speech so bristling with cricket terms as to be almost *wicked*! and I feel in danger of following his example in that sense—but I forbear. I am quite unable to meet him on that ground; he may claim to score off me there. But I am none the less grateful to him and to you, gentlemen, for the very clever and pleasant manner in which the last toast was proposed and received. "The labour we delight in physics pain," and so I cannot lay claim to all the goodness my friend has attributed to me, for I am so fond of cricket, so attached to its traditions, and I may add so attached to the club, that any inconvenience or trouble falls from me when the necessities or the demands of the game or the club make themselves known, or are made known to me by my friend your unwearied secretary. The eleven last season was a very good one, and I must in mere fairness remark that if our men had not displayed pluck and determination, if they had not worked so well together, the labours of the captain would have been immensely increased. It is always a grateful theme with me, and when we have such men in the eleven as —, and —, there need be no question of a captain

for the team ; and no fear of defeat with, ordinary luck, while we possess such bowlers as —, and such sure fieldsmen as —, and —. It is an honour to captain such a team, and I feel it so, I assure you. Gentlemen, I thank you heartily for your good wishes, and for the kindness with which you have listened to my imperfect speech and attempt at oratory.

AT A LOCAL CRICKET DINNER.

LXXX,—THE HEALTH OF THE HOST. [*Proposed by the Eldest Visitor.*]

Gentlemen,—

I must ask you to fill me a bumper fair, and drink to the toast I am about to propose. I feel I need not call upon you to drink it heartily, for that I know you will do when I tell you that it is the health of our kind and worthy Host which is to be honoured. We all know how considerate he has ever been to us, how he permits us to use his park and to pitch our wickets in his grounds, and how he has always entertained us. We do not need reminding of these things. We all treasure them from year to year, and look forward with the greatest pleasure to our match in the park. There is no necessity for me to dwell upon the manly virtues of our Host. He is so well known and so universally respected that nothing that I might say could by any possibility add to his popularity, or to the high position he occupies in the minds of all in the county and beyond it. Gentlemen, I will only ask you to give three hearty cheers for Mr.—, our kind entertainer ; and while thanking him for his hospitality, let us show ourselves worthy of it by keeping within the bounds of cheerfulness and decorum. The health of Mr. —, our Host, with our hearty and respectful good wishes for Mrs. — and the family.

LXXXI.—REPLY TO THE FOREGOING TOAST.

[*Spoken by the Host.*]

Gentlemen,—

My friend Mr. — has been very kind in proposing my health, and I am greatly flattered and gratified by the manner in which he acquitted himself and the way in which you responded. I can only say I am very glad that you think it worth while to come here for your contest at cricket. I am always glad to encourage, so far as is in my power, healthy exercise and honest enjoyment. My park is open so long as you wish to use it, and I am glad to learn from my men and from my own observation that you and other young gentlemen and neighbours come here and enjoy yourselves without doing harm to the trees and grass. It is very disheartening for an owner of property to find his trees injured and his sward cut about by thoughtless persons, and I appeal to your good sense and good feelings to use and not abuse the chances you have. It looks churlish to close a large park, but some of my neighbours have done so because the visitors did not respect the privilege they enjoyed. I am glad to think that you and your friends have now for so long enjoyed any little hospitality I am so happy to dispense. It is as great a pleasure to me to see you here enjoying yourselves as it is for you to come here. I shall be always glad to welcome you and your wives and children and your sweethearts, and when you come over next time bring them with you to watch your game and to enjoy themselves as much as they can. I now have only to thank you in my family's name and my own for drinking our healths, and to wish you all "Many happy returns of the day"—if it has been, as I believe it has, a pleasant one to you all as well as to myself.

AT A REGATTA DINNER.

LXXXII.—SUCCESS TO THE REGATTA, [*Proposed by the Chairman.*]

Gentlemen,—

We have come to the toast of the day, and, as you will readily admit, it is an interesting one to all present. The occasion of the — Regatta is no light one to be dismissed

with a few words: It is now an annual institution, and its success or failure means a good deal, not only to those immediately interested, but to all who are connected with the — Club. I am glad to be able to chronicle a marked success to-day. The prizes we have been enabled to distribute have met with approval and acceptance; and if our crew did not carry off many laurels, they were, if defeated, certainly not disgraced, and we would rather see them win upon other water than their own. We prefer our visitors to carry off the prizes if they can. We are as pleased to see them win as to win ourselves, and the best men must win—of that we feel assured. We have done fairly well, but might have done better, and while condoling with the unsuccessful we can warmly congratulate the victors upon their success.

Let me now say a few words respecting the club and the business side of the question. The finances are in a pretty good condition. The treasurer can inform you that we have £—— in hand after all expenses are provided for. But I regret to see that many members are in arrear. The committee do not wish to enforce the rules with unnecessary strictness, but it is not fair upon the other members that some should be permitted to ignore one rule when they would not neglect, nor overlook, an omission in others of another rule. We will at once call upon those members who have not paid their subscriptions to do so, and in any defaulting cases we will proceed as by our bye-laws, permitted, and framed for such a contingency.

The general arrangements of the club have been much improved, and the success of the arrangements is in a great measure, if not altogether, due to the untiring efforts of Mr. —, our most efficient honorary secretary. To him we all owe a deep debt of gratitude, and with his name I will conclude my remarks. I will call upon you all to drink to the health of Mr. —, to whose tact and patience the prosperity and popularity of the club are in a great measure due. Gentlemen, a bumper if you please for the Honorary Secretary.

LXXXIII.—A REGATTA DINNER. [*Reply of the Hon. Secretary.*]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

I trust you will excuse me if, in my endeavours to thank you for your kind expressions of goodwill, I fail to make myself as intelligible as I wish. The honour you have done me is unexpected, and all the more embarrassing to me on that account. It is very generous of our chairman to speak of me in such terms. Though I have endeavoured to do my duty I have never done more; and therefore, conscientiously speaking, I have no claim to your thanks. But it is very gratifying, nevertheless, to feel and to hear that in the estimation of one's friends, and in the opinion of the chairman, one has succeeded in one's endeavours, which have, at any rate, the merit of disinterestedness. The Club House has been a very pleasant *rendezvous*, but not all the efforts of the committee and secretary would have accomplished everything without the hearty and pleasant co-operation of the members. The committee have been indefatigable and untiring in their efforts to make the club and its arrangements successful; and we think we have in a measure succeeded. Personally I feel much gratified at the very kind manner in which the toast of my health has been received, and I thank you all heartily and sincerely for the way you have honoured me by proposing it.

LXXXIV.—THE HEALTH OF THE COMPETING CREWS. [*Proposed by the Chairman.*]

Gentlemen,—

I have it in my mind to propose to you a double toast, and one which you will all accept with pleasure. I mean the health of two competing crews here present. We were much interested to-day in the races for the Grand Challenge Cup, the final issue of which, as you are aware, was limited to the two boats whose crews are here present. We were beaten, and—well, not badly beaten. We accept with resignation our defeat, but we intend as soon as possible to reverse the verdict and claim the cup. There will be opportunities for us to retrieve our laurels soon, and we intend to try to regain some of them at any rate. Meanwhile I call upon you to drink first to our guests the —

Crew, who have so well and honourably defeated us ; and secondly, I will ask you to keep a little cheer for our own Eight, who struggled so gamely to pick up the race. Gentlemen, though they be opponents in these contests, I couple with all amicable feelings and good wishes the toasts of the — Crew and the Eight of the — Club.

LXXXV.—REPLY TO THE FOREGOING TOAST

[By the Stroke of the Successful Boat.]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

It is with much diffidence that I rise to reply to the toast which you, sir, have so handsomely proposed, and to which all your members here present have so kindly responded. I can assure you we think we are very lucky in having carried off the prize ; and if anything can add to our satisfaction in having wrested it from such a fine crew, it is the generous and noble manner in which that may-be temporary defeat has been received and our success welcomed. Such hearty kindness as we have met at your hands increases the value of the prize four-fold. We appreciate it all, I assure you, and although I cannot—and you will not expect me to—say I hope you will regain it, I am certain of one thing : that never was a losing race more pluckily rowed, and never was a defeat more admirably sustained nor more courteously acknowledged.

We have had many pleasant meetings during the period in which I have been stroking the Eight of the — Club, and it has fallen to my lot, I am glad to say, to have been partly the means of winning some prizes ; but we value our prize to-day most highly. We trust your crew will pay us a visit at our regatta, and in the name of our club, the —, I bid you all welcome. Gentlemen, once more in the name of the Eight or — I thank you for the honour you have done us in drinking our healths.

AN ARCHERY MEETING.

LXXXVI.—THE ARCHERY CLUB. [*Proposed by the President or Chairman at the Prize Distribution.*]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

We are here assembled on a very interesting occasion, and it is my pleasing and agreeable duty to have to present to several amongst you the prizes you have so well won to-day. There is the old and time-worn joke of the young ladies and *beaux*, the repetition of which would only betray a narrow-mindedness on my part; so I will spare you all jokes and puns on the subject of archery, and come at once to business.

You do not need to be told that archery is of very ancient origin, and that many of England's victories are owing to her bow-men. We were famous for drawing the long-bow in those days as well as the cross-bow. But in these modern times archery is a mere pastime, though I am glad to see so many good shots in this club. I should be very sorry to be in front of the target, I assure you, when you young ladies and gentlemen are practising. I congratulate the prize-winners heartily; and to those who have not now succeeded in carrying off a prize, I say persevere, practise: steady hands and hopeful hearts will carry you through much greater difficulties than these. I will now call upon the winners to come up and take their prizes, which they have so well won.

LXXXVII.—SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT (OR CHAIRMAN). [*After the Prize Distribution.*]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

Before we separate to-day I have to say a few words; and I will not detain you long, as the ceremony in which we have been engaged has kept us some time already. We have had a most interesting meeting. I look upon archery and tennis, and those field sports in which ladies and gentlemen can unite, as greatly beneficial to both sexes. There are many shy men who are enabled to overcome their timidity in ladies' society when their minds are occupied with a bow or a racket. The secret of ladies' conversation, I believe, lies in the occupation of their hands. They work and talk; the

man fidgets and cannot talk. If there were no other reason than the mingling of the sexes on these occasions, I still think archery would be a beneficial pastime. But it does more: it trains the eye and brain, it steadies the nerves; and ladies will appreciate this next reason—it improves the figure and carriage! These are perhaps merely physical advantages, but it has its moral attributes. It is recreation pure and simple; it stimulates to healthy exertion and pleasant rivalry; it promotes good-fellowship and friendship, removes stiffness; and unkindness disappears, let us hope, in the archery ground. No ill-feeling *ought* to arise. No jealousy *ought* to find place in such a sport at once innocent and interesting. Let us in our aims and amusements, as well as in our higher occupations, put away all envy and malice, and our pleasures will turn into blessings, and we shall all be nearer the attainment of the good and the true. Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for the patience with which you have listened to me, and I wish all success to the — Archery Club.

AN ANGLING CLUB.

LXXXVIII.—PROSPERITY TO THE — ANGLING CLUB. [*Proposed by the President at the Annual Dinner.*]

Gentlemen,—

There is only one more toast which I will inflict upon you this evening, but I am sure you will heartily respond to it. The toast is—Prosperity to the Anglers' Club. We have all been fishing to-day, but I am sure you do not fish for compliments from me respecting your successes. We have had a good haul provided for our meeting, and though it is not much in my line to make jokes, I will say that every man Jack of you seemed to be enjoying himself on his own hook—which I venture to doubt if the fish did!

Now this remark leads me to say something about the sport itself. Old Isaac Walton declared that, "God never did make a more calm, quiet, innocent recreation than angling." But there are many worthy people who declare that fishing is very cruel; they say we torture the fish; I maintain we do not; no true fisherman will do so. If, as we can judge from our own experience, the terror of

pain and death lies in the anticipation, then the fish, having no anticipation of death, do not suffer mentally at all. Bodily suffering, I think, is not great in fish. That they give us play enough at times we know; but the tough, leathery mouth is not sensitive to the hook as we estimate feeling, and if we kill our fish at once there is little or no pain. With the bait it is a different thing, and I am afraid we must plead guilty; but fly-fishing and artificial baits will serve as well on most occasions.

Gentlemen, I have not much to say. Our club has been long existent, and this is not the first time I have had the pleasure of addressing you from the chair. We have had a satisfactory increase of members of late, and I am glad to inform you that the funds are in good condition. I will now conclude by calling upon you to drink prosperity to the — Angling Club.

A CYCLING CLUB.

LXXXIX.—PROSPERITY TO THE — CYCLING CLUB. [*Proposed by the President at the Annual Dinner*].

Gentlemen,—

The toast of prosperity to the — Cycling Club which I now rise to propose is certain to receive cordial acknowledgment from you, however inadequate my words in proposing it may be. Cycling has long ceased to be purely an athletic sport, and although I suppose everyone here can remember the days when the cycling man was regarded as being necessarily an athlete, and the cycling woman was eyed askance as being fast if nothing worse, yet the memory only arouses feelings of amused incredulity now. Fashion followed the lead given it by common sense, and in Battersea Park was fought the campaign which resulted in the cycle becoming a permanent institution in English life. A lot of water has flowed under the bridge since then. The cycling trade has developed into a great industry giving employment to thousands of hands throughout the world. The man or woman who cannot cycle is now the exception, not the rule, and from Battersea Park the cyclist has triumphantly progressed until even the sacred ways inside Hyde Park are thrown open unreservedly to him. He has crossed the Alps and surveyed the Pyrenees, traversed Europe and penetrated to Pekin;

and from all this he has developed a literature of his own to which travellers like Foster Fraser, poets like Richard Le Gallienne, and artists like Joseph Pennell are delighted to contribute. Clubs such as ours require no words of apology or commendation. They afford opportunities of pleasant social intercourse, and the periodical club rides serve to give healthy exercise and to present a wholesome change of ideas to all who are wise enough to take part in them. I venture to say that there are many places of interest within a radius of thirty miles from this room which many of us would never have visited but for the club pilgrimages. It is a theme upon which I should like to dilate, but even if I were more competent to do so than I am, it would be unnecessary to an audience who, I am sure, regard it with as much enthusiasm as I do. Gentlemen, I give you the toast, prosperity to the — Cycling Club.

AN ANNUAL "HOUSE-DINNER."

XC.—THE FIRM. [*Proposed by the Senior Employé.*]

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice-Chairman, and Gentlemen,—

I perceive by the programme that it devolves upon me this year to propose to you a very important toast, and one which it requires some courage and firmness to undertake. I mean the health of the firm with which we all—or nearly all—have the pleasure of being associated. For many years I have been in the employment of Messrs. — and —, in a very responsible position, and have had many opportunities of observing them in their personal as well as in their business relations. In their presence on this occasion, gentlemen, I will not dilate upon the many acts of considerate kindness and liberality of which we are all conscious, and of which they may well be proud—and they would themselves object to my doing so. But I am sure we all can recall some kindness, some act of encouragement, which has lightened our way in business. The Firm, any large firm, has a great responsibility committed to it, and the happiness and contentment of the employés are two very prominent factors in the sum of their enjoyment, as well as in the sum of their success. Human nature being constituted as it is, every man likes to receive some personal recognition of his work outside

the merely commercial one of receiving his stipulated salary for his stipulated duty. We all know how pleased a young man is if, when he has done his work well, he is praised, and how wretched he feels when he is blamed. The consciousness that his good service is not lost sight of or ignored gives him a more directly personal interest in making himself efficient and indispensable to his employers. We can imagine the pleasure the partners of a firm feel—and now I am not speaking personally of any firm; be they lawyers, publishers, merchants, or brewers, the partners of any firm feel pleased—when their business succeeds. When the lawyer gains his case, and the publisher makes a hit, when the merchant makes a *coup*, and the brewer a “cooper” of more than usual excellence; a firm rejoices in such an event; that is natural, but it means much more when all the servants of the firm rejoice as well. Some firms, we know, take all the credit to themselves, and ignore or affect to be unaware of the share which the employes have had, perhaps, in the initiation of the business, certainly in its conduct to success. This is not our case. We feel that our efforts are appreciated. We like a little praise now and then to encourage us; and let me say—speaking as a man of experience, and as one who has had many men under him—that a few words of praise may make all the difference between a willing hand and head, and perfunctory service.

I am certain that mutual esteem and consideration are the corner-stones of the building, of the firm building up, of a business. No master will be so well served as he who is loved and respected, whose censure is just, whose criticism is strict, and whose praise is not parsimonious. Neither master nor man should demand the always unvarying letter of the bond, nor exact cruelly the pound of flesh. There are ways of winning voluntary service which is worth far more than paid service, and the firm that can attach such to itself, not only by justice, strict and impartial, but by kindness and well-timed liberality, will have assistance which money cannot purchase and which years will not wear out. Gentlemen, to such a firm I believe we belong, and in that belief I call upon you all respectfully, gratefully, and dutifully, to drink health and prosperity to the Firm of Messrs. — & Co., and thank them for giving us such a pleasant “outing” to-day.

XCI.—REPLY TO THE FOREGOING TOAST. [*By the Senior Partner present.*]

Mr. Vice and Gentlemen,

Being the chairman on this occasion I cannot address myself; but I have a pleasant Vice ready to listen to me, and perhaps to prompt me. I am—and I speak also for my partners—we all are very sensible of the kind manner in which our health has been proposed and received. It is true, as Mr. ——— said just now, that mutual consideration and esteem are the corner-stones of every business house, and we are delighted to accept his assurances that in our case they exist.

There is one point in the speech just delivered which I must touch upon, and that is the responsibility of the Firm in the matter of the employés. They are not children, and they would in my opinion resent any interference. They might say to us, Mind your own business; we are yours from nine till five or six o'clock, but after we leave your house we are our own masters. So far as the outside life of our men is concerned, so far as their pursuits and amusements are concerned, we do not accept any responsibility. Of course, if we found that those pursuits or amusements were derogating from, or in direct opposition to, our business, it would be our duty to warn the individual that he must conform to our practice and wishes, and give up one or the other of the opposing pursuits. But within all reasonable limitations we recognise their right to absolute independence in their private relations as clearly as we recognise it in the case of any other of our friends.

We entirely accept the responsibility for our employés during office hours. We wish you to understand that we have your interests at heart as well as our own. We welcome any development of energy gladly; and though we do not in every instance think it our duty to pat the employé openly on the back for doing *his* duty, yet we mentally note, and when opportunity offers we will openly proclaim our sense of that gentleman's worth in some way or other. Be assured that you are all noted. Very little escapes us, and many times we have, with pleasure, intimated our appreciation of your efforts for the benefit of the house and for each other.

We are pleased that we can annually enjoy our holiday together as we have to-day; and now I will not detain you longer. There are many other toasts to come, I perceive, so I will at once resume my duties, thanking you for the toast which has been proposed and received in a manner highly gratifying to the Firm.

XCII.—THE EMPLOYÉS. [*Proposed by the Head of Department, or Junior Partner.*]

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice-Chairman, and Gentlemen,—

The toast I have now to propose is a very important one, next in importance, indeed, to that of the Firm, whose health we have just responded to. In all large houses there must be a head and hands—just as in the human body we have a directing brain, and limbs to perform what the superior brain directs.* But unless the hands are *en rapport* with the head, unless the limbs at once answer to the direction of the intellect and do as they are directed, they are of no use. The man then is like a machine out of gear: he must retire from business—he is no good in business.

On the other hand if the brain directs wrongfully, the man is said to be vicious and criminal; and in that case he is a nuisance to society and must be shut up. So to have a, humanly speaking, perfect man, or a perfect machine, the head must be clear, and the limbs or hands must be in good working order. This is the secret of success—honesty in direction, obedience in action; and this in a great measure has been the reason of our Firm's success: the manner in which those employed have carried out the instructions issued by the head.

It has been a matter of great satisfaction to the Firm during the past twelvemonth to mark the steady increase in the business, which they attribute partly to better times, but chiefly to the attention and diligence of those gentlemen in the business who have carried out the suggestions and directions issued by the responsible partners in the house. To the Employés the Firm are much indebted, and in proposing their healths I wish to couple the toast with the name of Mr. —, and to thank all the gentlemen for the zealous manner in which their various duties have been performed.

XCIII.—REPLY TO THE TOAST OF THE EMPLOYÉES.

[*By the Senior Clerk.*]

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice-Chairman, and Gentlemen,—

I am sure all those employed by the Firm of Messrs. — and — have reason to thank Mr. — for the very kind way in which he has spoken of them. We are all grateful for much kindness, and our annual dinners are always looked forward to with much pleasure, and always looked back upon with a feeling of contentment. As regards the efforts of the gentlemen in the house, I can answer for it that they have all endeavoured to do their duties, to the best of their abilities, willingly and conscientiously for the benefit of the house. A great deal has been done, and we are glad to think that the balance-sheet shows a good round sum on the right side. So far as our efforts have contributed to this result we are heartily glad, and we are pleased in any case to find that the old house for which many of us have worked for so long is prospering. We trust that our efforts in the future, if we are permitted to meet another year to hear the result, will be at least as satisfactory to all parties, and that the mutual esteem and regard which influences all in the house will remain even more firmly cemented. Gentlemen, in the name of the Employés I thank you for your good wishes and kind expressions concerning us.

XCIV.—THE VISITORS. [*Proposed by the Vice-Chairman.*]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

Before we separate I would ask you to join with me in drinking the health of our Visitors. It has been a great pleasure to us to be able to offer them our hospitality, and we owe them this meed of thanks for the compliment they have paid us by their presence, and for the geniality and good feeling which they have contributed to make this occasion such a success. Many of the Visitors are already old friends, and all the others, we hope, will yet become so. [Some graceful allusion should be made to, at any rate, the more prominent individuals invited.] To all of them we are much indebted for preferring our invitation to the many others which they doubtless received

simultaneously with our own, and I know you will join with me in an expression of thanks and cordially drink the toast of their good health.

XCV.—REPLY TO THE TOAST OF THE VISITORS.

[*By one of them.*]

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice-Chairman, and Gentlemen,—
The toast you have so cordially honoured is but the culmination of a long series of kindnesses and courteous attention which you have lavished on us to-day. We have had a most delightful experience, and it might well puzzle a far sager head than mine to discover why one word of thanks should be due from you to us, for having availed ourselves of the opportunity to enjoy ourselves so much. If the obligation is so great as Mr. — kindly suggests, I can only say that for my own part I shall be only too happy to confer it again, and rejoice to think that I can earn the title of benefactor so pleasantly. In all sincerity we are very much obliged to you for honouring this toast so warmly and for the generous hospitality of which it marks the close. If the criterion by which to tell a good host is that his guests enjoy themselves, you may claim to have graduated with honours in the school of hospitality, for enjoy ourselves we one and all have done. In the name of the Visitors I thank you very much, and heartily congratulate you upon the success of the function at which you have honoured us by inviting us to assist.

XCVI.—THE LADIES. [*Generally proposed by the Youngest Bachelor present.*]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

I rise to ask you to charge your glasses that you may do honour to the most important toast that it is possible to propose at any feast of reason and flow of soul, namely, the toast of—The Ladies. I don't know why this toast should be put so near to the bottom of the list, unless it be that the gentleman responsible for preparing the list is under the sad delusion that woman is inferior to man. I hold such an assumption to be a gross libel upon our

mothers, and sweethearts, and wives, and sisters, and cousins, and aunts. Gentlemen, I believe in the equality of the sexes. If women are inferior to men in certain respects, they are superior to them in others, and to avoid any animated discussion on a point which, after all, is largely a matter of opinion, I may safely say that the honours are pretty equally divided. A profound remark was uttered once by Mr. Gilead P. Beck which may be appropriately recalled. When the "Golden Butterfly" had brought him wealth beyond the dreams of avarice, he was besieged by people who had suggestions to offer as to how he might most advantageously dispose of at least some portion of his pile. Among the visitors was a lady who believed in the equality of the sexes and desired financial assistance for the propagation of her views. She entertained him at some length with a disquisition on the subject, and wound up by asking how it was that women had never yet produced a Shakespeare. "I don't know, I am sure," Mr. Beck replied. "I was under the impression that they had produced all our greatest men." There is a wealth of wisdom in that answer. I really think, gentlemen, that if we had a few young women in the House of Commons, instead of the many old women who at present make such a mess of things there, it would be all the better for the government of the country. But I am dropping into politics, so before the chairman pulls me up I will just say that whatever opinion gentlemen present may hold on the subject of Home Rule for Ireland, we must all be of one mind in thinking that all women should be home rulers all the world over. I must confess that I have not yet mustered up courage to subject myself to home rule, in the matrimonial sense, but I strongly recommend my bachelor friends to try the experiment. It is true that a Greek poet has told us that :

Two happy days a married man may prize :
The day he weds his wife, the day she dies !"

but then I don't believe that poets are the best judges of domestic matters. Gentlemen—"The Ladies!" God bless them.

XCVII.—THE LADIES. [*Proposed by a Guest.*]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

Will you permit me to rise and say a few words upon a subject upon which I am confessedly ignorant, but in which—or shall I say whom—I take a great interest. The Ladies! Perhaps I may not be accounted a fair judge, as I am still youthful and entirely inexperienced in the ways of womankind. But I hear a good deal of them. We are indebted for the greatest charm of many of our social pleasures to the society of ladies. I need not quote Sir Walter Scott's verses to assure you of the benevolence and kindness of women, nor need I refer to the proverbial fickleness of the sex—which, I believe, to be a quite unfounded aspersion.

I am sure there is nothing that I can say in favour of the ladies which your hearts will not endorse. We are indebted to them for much happiness, and we look upon them, in some respect at any rate, as superior beings. More than all else on them, on their virtue and strength, depends the future welfare of the kingdom. The mothers are the wealth and prosperity of a nation. They bring up the children, and upon them the fate of future generations must depend. Gentlemen, there is nothing that I can say in praise of the ladies which each of you has not already anticipated. I am sure you all equally with myself respect them, and love them too, perhaps, or rather, one of them. So I call upon you all to drink heartily to the Ladies. Bless them! Knowing what blessings we possess in our sweet-hearts and wives, I call upon the youngest bachelor present to return thanks for the sex.

XCVIII. — REPLY TO THE TOAST OF THE LADIES. [*By the Youngest Bachelor.*]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

The position in which Mr. — has placed me is rather an awkward one. He confessed just now that (though I believe he is some years my senior) he knew nothing about the sex to entitle him to propose their health! Now what can I, at my time of life, have to say, except to thank you in the names of the whole of the fair sex throughout the world, for the very nice way, the very charming manner, in which the toast has been responded to.

If only the Ladies—not all the ladies in the world,—could have been present, they must have been struck with the graceful terms in which their health was proposed, and I am afraid they would be equally disgusted at the tame manner in which I am returning thanks. I assure you, I may assure them, that this diffidence is only observable in their absence. Were any ladies present I could from the inspiration breathe forth new songs of praise of them; in their absence the founts of oratory are frozen—I am chilled. But if the party were lighted by their presence, the rills of rhetoric and the flow of fancy would supervene, and I could, thus warmed by their presence, return suitable thanks for them.

As it is, however, gentlemen, my tongue refuses to say all I think. I thank you sincerely on behalf of the charming Ladies, collectively and individually, whom we have the happiness to call wives or sweethearts; and for the vast array of female beauty outside of our lives I thank you too, for they are the true consolers of mankind, and “little if at all, lower than the angels!”

PENNY READINGS.

XCIX.—ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN, OR PROMOTER.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

Before we commence the programme, which I perceive is a very attractive one, I will introduce to you the ladies and gentlemen who have so kindly come forward to amuse us. Their names are on the programmes, and I am sure when you have heard the various pieces and readings you will agree with me that the selection has been wisely made. “Good wine needs no bush,” so I will not detain you by enlarging upon the performers’ merits, but come at once to my chief object in addressing you.

We are here this evening to assist an excellent work, for the profits of these readings during the winter will go towards defraying the debt upon the schools, or to some equally necessary fund. We have set aside therefore a certain number of seats at sixpence each—not from any desire for exclusiveness, but because we wish to pay our debts. The majority of places cost only one penny.

To the occupiers of those seats programmes will be sold at one halfpenny ; to the sixpenny places at one penny each. We think this will meet the wishes of all. But we are quite open to new suggestions, and the committee will gladly entertain any such. In conclusion, I may express a hope that you will use all your efforts to make these meetings a success. Many people in the district have few, if any, means of amusement open to them, and except at the public-houses have little opportunity for meeting or recreation. I think I can count upon all who hear me to assist us in our good work.

And now I will make way for the programme, and request Miss —— to favour us with the solo she has so kindly consented to play as an overture for us this evening.

C.—AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE EVENING.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

Before we separate I have to request your attention and suffrages, which I am sure will be given very willingly when I tell you I wish to pass a vote of thanks to the ladies and gentlemen who have so ably and successfully given their services this evening. You will, I think, now be able to judge of the correctness of my anticipations. We have had a most delightful evening ; our interest and our laughter have, I hope, proved to the performers who have so generously and kindly come here to-night that their efforts are highly appreciated, and that we are only desirous to see them again. On their behalf I may say that they thank you for your kind and discriminating applause, which they value highly ; and for my own part I cannot thank my friends too much, whether on the platform or in the audience, for their efforts to make the evening, both financially and on the stage, such a success.

Ladies and gentlemen, next week we hope to be able to provide you with another excellent programme, and trust it will be as pleasing and creditable to all concerned as this has been. All has gone smoothly and well. Ladies and gentlemen, thank you very much. I am sure you will all sleep well after such a "lullaby" as we heard just now. If you please we will now conclude by singing "God save the King," and we request your assistance in the chorus.

SECTION VII.

MISCELLANEOUS TOASTS.

THE PRESS—LAYING A FOUNDATION-STONE—A SCHOOL
FEAST—A NEW RAILWAY LINE.

CI.—THE PRESS. [*Proposed by the Chairman at a
Dinner.*]

Gentlemen,—

In asking you to honour the toast of The Press, I am discharging a duty which is particularly agreeable, but to that quite honest statement I must hasten to add the confession that to make a speech upon the subject at all commensurate with its importance is a task beyond my powers. The subject is so vast and appeals to us all from so many varied points of view that I suppose it would be impossible for the most practised orator to deal adequately with even a single aspect of it in the brief limits of an after-dinner speech. The man who invented printing did much more than devise a scheme for the readier multiplication of copies of the Gospels; he found the lever to set free a force fraught with the most tremendous consequences for the whole world, and what the ultimate issue of that primitive mechanical appliance may be, no one can estimate.

But it is the Newspaper Press of this country that we have more particularly in mind in proposing this toast, and we may confidently assert that it compares favourably with the Press of any other country. Nothing astonishes me so much in modern journalism as the mass of information that is daily and nightly poured forth from our newspaper offices for our amusement and edification, and in

spite of the speed at which it is produced, presented with literary charm and a singularly accurate perception of the relative importance of things. With the necessity for rapid composition has come a facility of expression that is truly remarkable, and, even in the case of leading articles, which from the stress of circumstances have been written so shortly before the paper has gone to press that their authors have had no time to see a single proof, it is seldom that the most critical eye can detect evidence of the difficult conditions under which they were evolved. Where the conditions have been less onerous the results are scarcely less surprising to me. I can remember to have heard elegiac leaders read from the pulpit by scholarly divines, who rejoiced to find such thoughts so expressed in daily papers, and in spite of the mass of books that are daily offered to glut the appetite of a cultured population, one cannot but feel a pang of regret when one thinks of the quantity of literary genius buried in the files of almost every newspaper.

Then, again, our Newspaper Press is something more than merely literary. Upon the whole it is singularly incorrupt. It is true that from time to time aspersions are made upon what is known as our financial journalism, but these aspersions are rarely levelled against the daily papers, where it might be supposed that venality would be most difficult of prevention. We can find plenty to congratulate ourselves upon in the fact that it is so difficult to bribe our journalists. And if this is true in financial, it is even more true in political matters. There are plenty of occasions when enemies of England would be only too glad to influence even one newspaper of standing to give expression to their views, and there are not wanting occasions when unlimited funds could be forthcoming to produce the desired result. But I can remember no occasion when in that sense an English newspaper was found to have its price, and for that alone we cannot honour it too much.

And, lastly, there is the use our papers make of the great power they have acquired by their freedom. Surely it is a good use. Whenever the deserving poor require compassionate assistance, whenever subject races are groaning under the oppression of tyrants, whenever there is a grievance to be remedied or a wrong to be put right, our Newspaper Press may be relied upon to step into the breach and divert into the necessary channel enough of the irresistible force of public opinion to sweep away the offending matter. Individual mistakes it may be an easy matter to cite, but that collectively our Press is characterised by purity of motive, disinterestedness of

purpose, and general incorruptibility I do most confidently affirm. And with equal confidence I call upon you to endorse this very imperfect eulogy of our free and national institution by drinking heartily the toast of The Press and the health of its representatives, coupled on this occasion with the name of Mr. —.

CII.—REPLY TO THE FOREGOING.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

Although I am one of the humblest devotees of journalism I should be quite unworthy of the cult I profess if I did not, at any rate, express my warm thanks for the toast you have just honoured. Believe me, however inadequately those thanks may be expressed, they are absolutely sincere. That I regard journalism as an honourable profession goes without saying, since I am devoting my own life to it, and I wish that I were better able to do justice to a subject which I have so much at heart. Regarded only as a network of commercial enterprise, our Newspaper Press is an amazing thing. I suppose it would be impossible to compile statistics that would at all approximate to the truth, but the sums of money invested in the newspapers of the United Kingdom and all that goes to make them up, must exceed the sums invested in any other business. When one thinks of the purely commercial side of it the imagination is bewildered; the paper and the machinery that makes it, the type and the machinery that sets it, the ink and the machinery that prints from it; then there is the enormous advertising and distributing trade, and even then one has not begun to consider the contents of the newspapers themselves; the telegrams from all quarters of the globe, the special correspondence, the literary matter, with all its various departments of politics and literature and finance. Truly, it is a marvellous and intricate institution, of which no single man can do more than comprehend his own little department in it thoroughly.

It is the fashion to regret the decay of what is called Bohemia, but if the old Grub Street, whose name conjures up so vivid an idea, was really one of the leading thoroughfares in its capital, that imaginary land need not be very deeply mourned. The men who aspire to lead in journalism now require qualities which would fit them for leader-

ship in almost any profession : intelligence, courage, both moral and physical, daring, tact, promptitude of decision, readiness of resource, and nicely-balanced judgment make up a tolerable list of attributes for any one man to possess : yet they are all demanded by the Press from its professed exponents, and, besides all these, there must be the seeing eye and the pen of the ready writer if success is to be achieved in Fleet Street nowadays. The tendency of journalism is towards literature, and literature condensed to the very essence of the things discussed. It is an old saying that literature is a hard mistress, demanding much from her votaries, but there is little to grieve at in that ; what's lightly won is seldom well worth having ; the pre-eminence to which our Newspaper Press has attained, has been attained only by infinite pains, and that, I suppose, is why we value it so much. You have shown that you value it by your cordiality in drinking this toast, and while, personally, I am undeserving of the honour of being called upon to respond, I am glad to have so public an opportunity of declaring my allegiance to my mistress, and, in her name, thanking you for the compliment you have paid her.

CIII.—LAYING THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF A MUSEUM. [*Speech by the late Lord Coleridge.*]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

The toast I have to propose is—"Prosperity to the — Museum." Prosperity to the Museum means, I suppose, prosperity to those things with which the Museum is connected. Science, which is the knowledge of the universe of God ; Art, which is, I suppose, the imaginative representation of the whole of the creation which can be seen, and is capable of being represented ; and Literature, which, in its very narrowest significance, contains all that the best and ablest men of all times and all ages have ever thought and said. Now that is a light and easy short subject to be dealt with in an after-luncheon speech, especially by one who is for the most part wholly unfit to deal with any part of it. But I advocate most heartily such an institution as I understand this Museum to be, because it would be narrow pedantry and absurd to suppose that all the multitudinous forms of art, although they have been nobly handled by the great masters who have gone before have been exhibited by them. The slightest

reflection reminds us that the literature of Carlyle, Brown-
ing, Tennyson, Matthew Arnold, and Cardinal Newman
shows that the riches of the English language are not
exhausted, and that its resources are still unfathomed.
Therefore, gentlemen, it is with very great pleasure that
I propose this toast to you. I believe that in the institu-
tion of a Museum of this kind is to be found the greatest
possible advantage to the whole country with which it
is connected. I suppose that no one can doubt that the
surest way towards the cultivation of charitable judg-
ment and moderate views is the real cultivation of true
knowledge. I suppose that nobody can doubt that the
"inevitable stream of tendency," as it is called, whether
we like it or not, whether we desire it or not, is throwing
day by day more and more power into the hands of the
people. I suppose, therefore, it cannot be doubted that
the wiser, the more charitable, the larger, and more moder-
ate, popular opinion can be made, the better for all of
us. Now, I am sure that in an institution such as this
there is, at all events, a means, perhaps not the complete
means, but a means to such an end. Every piece of really
scientific information which has been added to the treasure
house of mankind is, or may be, an inestimable bless-
ing. It is not, of course, by the institution of the Museum
alone, by its lecture-rooms, by its teaching, by its library,
by its classes, and so forth, that the end I am pointing
out can be achieved. Possibly it is not by any combina-
tion of ends in the power of man alone to bring about
such a result; but I am certain that institutions such as
we have joined in increasing to-day ought, and I believe
will have an important function in this respect. It will
teach men, or it should teach them, from a scientific
point of view how little we all are, how little the earth
we stand upon and tread upon is compared with the
universe, of which it forms an insignificant portion. That
surely is a lesson which should humble every man. History
should teach us what great men there have been before
us, and what pigmies many of the persons who think
themselves great men in the present day are, compared
with those who have gone before. There is another lesson
that the history of humanity, if it is rightly read, will
teach us, viz., not only the wickedness, but the folly of
harsh and severe judgments, and of extravagant language.
If there is anything which can be gathered from the perusal
of the history of literature, it is to teach a man to think
humbly of himself, so as to become more and more capable
of self-control, and therefore more and more fit to govern
others.

CIV.—A SCHOOL FESTIVAL. [*Spoken by the Leader of the Excursion.*]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

Before we leave this place where we have all spent such a delightful day, I want you to give three cheers for Mr. —, by whose courtesy and kindness we have been enabled to enjoy ourselves so much. He is not present with us now, but I hope he will understand how fully we appreciate his kindness in permitting us to come here and picnic and run races, as we have all done to-day. We are glad to think there has been no damage done, and that you have all, boys and girls, behaved well and had plenty of rational enjoyment. Such good conduct will, no doubt, influence Mr. —, if we again are desirous to have an afternoon in his beautiful park. His kindness deserves more acknowledgment than my poor words can give it, but I hope you, by a hearty cheer, will tell him how much you all value his goodness. I won't ask you to wish him many returns of *this* day; still we may wish him heartily long life and every happiness. Now, boys and girls, three cheers for Mr. —, and long life to him!

Now there is another thing—and I hope you are not all hoarse after those cheers, because I may want some more before I have done. There are some ladies and gentlemen present who have, at some inconvenience, but very willingly, come down with us to-day to assist us in our sports, and to make things go smoothly. They have also subscribed very liberally for the prizes you have won, and helped us all very materially to enjoy ourselves. We owe them a vote of thanks, and I am sure you will all unite with me in thanking our visitors very heartily for what they have done, and for the kind way they have assisted us all day in making this little treat pass off so well. Now then, all together—three cheers for the Visitors!

CV.—A SCHOOL FEAST.—[*Distribution of Prizes for Athletic Sports.*]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I have been requested to give away the Prizes this afternoon, and I have very great pleasure in doing so, particularly as I have watched the sports with much interest, and feel that the winners deserve them. Some of the candidates have run their competitors very closely in

one or two events, but the judge's decisions have settled the questions to the satisfaction of all parties, I believe, and nothing is now wanting but the distribution of the Prizes.

I am greatly in favour of Athletics. Such exercises as we have witnessed this afternoon are calculated to bring out all the hardy qualities of boyhood. The lungs are exercised, the muscles are strengthened, and we have, besides, several moral qualities developed. We learn to accept defeat without ill-feeling, and to obtain victory without any ungenerous triumph over failure. Those who have won this time must *persevere* if they wish to keep ahead ; just as in your lessons application is necessary to those who desire to keep well up in the school.

Our whole life is a race—a struggle in which the weakest will fall behind. There is such competition nowadays in everything, that intense application is needed to ensure success. So I trust all you young people who hear me will remember how you have gained your prizes, viz., by doing your best. Now, if you carry this idea out in your lives generally, and do your best—not *the* very best, of course, for others may beat you, but your best according to your abilities and opportunities, you will be astonished how quickly you will come to the front. St. Paul bids us so to run that we may obtain a Heavenly crown. So let us run, striving for the mastery over all evil that besets us, and running away from it, not in fear, but in the strength of our hearts and bodies. No man can be strong in combat or running unless his heart be right, and in the right order for work. So in moral, as well as in physical exercises, the *heart* must be right. We must train ourselves with temperance and sobriety for the great race of life, and endeavour as far as possible to keep well in front of the evil that pursues us, so that we may gain the crown of life—the Eternal Prize.

I will not longer detain you. Remember, if you can, my advice. Do your best, and leave the result and the verdict to the Judge. If you fail, you will not be disgraced at any rate, and you have all a chance of winning, for the Prizes are many in the world to come. Now, if you please, I will hand the prizes to the successful competitors.*

* In giving the prizes, a few words of congratulation should be addressed to each winner.

A NEW RAILWAY LINE.

CVI.—TURNING THE FIRST SOD. [*By the Chairman.*]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

We have to-day been assisting in a very great work, one that will make its mark in the future. We have to-day inaugurated the railway line which is to bring us within measurable distance of prosperity, a feeder to our population and a carrier of their produce. The benefits conferred by a railroad can scarcely be estimated. The line once so dreaded is now sought by landholders. When the railways were first brought before the public it was deemed impossible that they could pay or serve the country. Now we know to the contrary. Landowners who drove the surveyors off their property lived to regret their action, and the people use them till millions of money are earned annually.

We hope the short line which we have this day commenced will prove of great benefit. Let us see what it will do. In the first place it will convey you all at cheap fares to the sea-side daily in summer; so within an hour you will be on the sands, and sporting with the waves of which your children and, may be, many of your poorer neighbours, have never had a glimpse. That is one benefit. Then to commerce and trade it will be an immense boon. You will have your letters more rapidly delivered, and your supplies from town more quickly forwarded. Speed, convenience, and a thriving population will all be the results of the railroad. Before concluding I will propose to you a toast which I imagine all present will join with me in drinking. That toast is prosperity to the — and — Line. We have had some little opposition to deal with, but I think I may say that all that is overcome. The Bill has passed, to-day the first sod has been turned. A great work has been initiated, and we may hope within a very short time to see the locomotive rushing between this place and the great county centres, carrying in its train hundreds who will gladly date their prosperity and increased comfort from the opening of the line. Ladies and gentlemen, I hope you will unite with me in drinking the toast of Prosperity to the — and — Railway, coupled with the name of Mr. —, who has all along taken such a useful and leading part in the promotion of the line.

CVII.—REPLY TO THE FOREGOING TOAST. [*By the Promoter, or Engineer.*]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

Until my name was mentioned I was following out a train of thought very different from the railway. I was thinking of the old coaching days, and the difficulties we had, when I was a young man, in getting up to A—— in the winter; and as to B——, we never visited it at all except in summer. The railroad will change all that now, and we shall have the satisfaction of finding a demand for our produce. Not only that, but the shareholders will, we believe, have a very satisfactory dividend after a while. The —— Railway has promised to send all its —— traffic over it, and we shall have to ask the shareholders whether they will come to a suggested agreement with the company and accept a certain percentage of the traffic, or let the old company work the line.

But these are all details of a business nature, and need not be discussed here. We are here to drink the toast of Prosperity to the —— Railway, and the manner in which the proposal has been responded to convinces me that all take a great interest in the completion of the line. I have personally taken a part in the promotion of the long-desired connecting link between us and the outer world. Every year I have seen that other places are developing traffic, and that my native town, which I can remember such a very small place, is now likely to become more important.

I can only express my conviction that the new line will do all I hope, and more. Now, gentlemen, I will merely add my sincere thanks for your kind "toasting," and assure you that I feel your kindness and appreciate the feelings that led to its proposal and warm reception, for which I thank you all heartily.

CVIII.—TOAST OF THE TOWN AND TRADE OF ——

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

It is my pleasurable duty to propose to you the toast of prosperity to the town and trade of ——, Every one present at this "feast of reason and flow of soul" must, I am sure, be impressed with the importance not

only of maintaining, but, as far as possible, increasing the prosperity of this famous (or ancient) and enlightened borough (town or city). Some of those who have honoured us with their presence on this interesting occasion may not have had the good fortune to be natives of this borough, or to be otherwise connected with it; but they too, I doubt not, will heartily join us in our good wishes for its welfare. But those of us who were born here, or who have lived here for any length of time, have every reason to drink this toast with the utmost enthusiasm. We are proud of our town—proud of its history and of the men who have made it. Like other places we have our seasons of trade depression as well as our seasons of trade revival; but I venture to say that in no other community will you find men more willing to take the rough with the smooth, or more determined to face adversity with courage or prosperity with moderation. We hear much of foreign competition, and no doubt the difficulties of holding our own in industry and commerce are more serious nowadays than they used to be. Still, we manage to get on, and I believe that in the future, whatever disappointments or reverses may be in store for us, we shall be able to break the record of the past. Gentlemen, you may possibly think me too much prejudiced in favour of my native town, but I can assure you that local sentiment is the bed-rock foundation of the wider patriotism, and there is something to be said in favour of the man who declared that taking all things into consideration he would rather be hanged in his native Little Pedlington than die a natural death anywhere else. Gentlemen, I ask you to drink to the Prosperity of the Town and Trade of —.

SECTION VIII.

TEMPERANCE AND BLUE RIBBON MEETINGS.

TEMPERANCE SPEECHES—THE BLUE RIBBON—TOTAL AB-
STINENCE—VARIOUS ADDRESSES.

CIX.—ADDRESS BY A MEMBER OF THE BLUE RIBBON ARMY

My Friends,—

I have come up here this evening, and venture to address you, though I am conscious of my inability to do justice to the cause we all have at heart—I mean Gospel Temperance. Remember that. We put the Gospel first, and we wish you all to understand that we mean total abstinence from intoxicating liquors.

Some may, hundreds do, openly proclaim the advisability of permitting "moderate drinking." Now let us look at this moderate drinking. What is it? Can we lay down any line and say, I will not pass that; I will not drink more than two or three glasses of wine or beer all day? No; we know we cannot do so. Would we parley with a declared enemy, with one who we knew was ready to take advantage of us? We should estimate ourselves at a very low figure if we did so. But I think I can prove to you all, by figures and facts, that even what is called very moderate drinking is delusive and harmful, on the authority of Dr. Richardson, who was an eminent total abstainer. I need not quote such authorities as Sir Henry Thompson and Dean Farrar, but will pass at once to the physical aspect of the question, putting aside

for the moment the moral bearings of the case. Now suppose a man be very regular in his drinking as well as "moderate," and that he consumes a pint of beer, half a pint of wine, and a glass or two of whisky and water. These contain, says Sir Benjamin Richardson, six ounces of alcohol. The effect of this is to make the heart beat 18,000 times a day more than it ought to do, and it has to raise what would be equivalent to nineteen extra tons' weight one foot; and so on as we diminish the quantity we will diminish the extra action of the heart. Therefore, the less we drink, the better for us physically. Too much exercise is detrimental to weak hearts. Drinking is equally detrimental to heart and body and soul.

But look at the moral side of the question. Is not every one here who indulges in drinking aware that, when under the influence of wine or other liquor, he will do things which he would never have done if perfectly sober? Have we not often heard the expression, "I'm sure I never would have said so (or done so) unless I had had a glass too much?" Is not intoxication pleaded daily in our courts as excuse for all kinds of offences, from murder downwards? Are not we aware that wine heats our blood, and incites us to excesses which we need not particularise? If a fall from purity in a woman is the cause of the poor creature taking to drinking, in despair, as is sometimes the case, is not drinking on the other hand the cause of man's sinning, and perhaps inducing the woman to sin too? Can we, as men, ask ourselves these questions, and not reply in the affirmative? Some will meet me, no doubt, with the argument that if wine be permitted by the Bible, and even offered in the Sacrament as a holy pledge, it cannot be wrong. But will anyone in his senses maintain that the sip of good wine partaken of in Holy Communion is a drinking of wine? No one can assert that.

Well, then, as to the wine of Scripture. We read that water was turned into wine, *pure, good* wine—there was no alcohol or adulteration in it. It was even purer than the ordinary expressed grape juice, and it is the present loaded and mixed wines and beers which do so much harm. Men—and alas! women—are poisoned, intoxicated, by drugs. Pure beverages will hurt no one in moderation, I believe. But we must take things as they unfortunately are, and until we can obtain pure drinks let us abstain.

Another point we find in Scripture is that all *mixed* wines are condemned. There the Bible helps us, and we find that drunkenness is condemned as a deadly sin. That cases of drunkenness are on record in the Bible,

is a fact; but they are recorded with other sins, and it is no argument in favour of drinking to say it was permitted in circumstances different entirely from those now obtaining. Many sins are recorded in the Bible for our warning, so that we may avoid them. The priests were specially forbidden to use strong drink. There is no time when Satan is more likely to assail us than when we are under the influence of drink. Our passions are then excited, and we fall!

There is yet another point. We must, or at any rate I may say we *should*, abstain for others' sakes. I heard an opinion expressed the other day to the effect that a man is more worthy of regard who can say "No," and stop when he has had enough. It is better to use and not abuse. Yet even to such an one I would say, "Granted that you are able always to restrain yourself—and that is granting a great deal—if you can by example and abstention make a convert and one drunkard's home happy, will you not abstain entirely?" Those who abstain for example's sake are even better and more self-denying Christians than those who are moderate. "For the sake of the weak they become as weak, that they may gain the weak!"

I want you to do this of your own free will, and come forward to take the pledge honestly, and with a full conviction of good. No children should be forced to take the ribbon in my opinion. They should first be convinced of the necessity for abstinence, and then made wearers of the Blue, and members of the Gospel Temperance Union. Pray for help, cut off the drinking, and you will find rest unto your souls!

CX.—ANOTHER SPEECH ON TEMPERANCE.

My Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I am glad to see such an assembly here to-night, because I have some very important things to say, and I hope to receive many of you into our Band of Total Abstiners this evening. I want you—we want you—to look at this movement for Gospel Temperance fairly, and ask yourselves whether you think drinking does you any good, morally or physically. I do not want to force you to come here, or to remain to take any pledge, unless you can conscientiously do so. But, nevertheless, I will put a few facts before you. Firstly, do you require to drink? Can

any of you present tell me honestly that you find any wine, or spirit, or intoxicating liquor necessary for your well-being? Does it make you better, warmer, or less liable to feel hungry? If so, there may be something to say in its favour. But it does not. There is no human function performed by strong drink. A debilitated frame may derive a certain satisfaction from a glass of wine or brandy. But does the benefit remain? I think not. You may receive a temporary "fillip" from the use of stimulants, but the reaction will be correspondingly great, and depression will ensue. Good food will do much more for you than alcoholic liquors. That is a fact.

It is a curious but easily ascertained fact that in all organisms, water—not any stimulant—is the necessary fluid for the support of the body. There is no doubt about that. Moreover, when any such stimulant is introduced there is a certain change in the organisation. Now alcohol has a great affinity for water, which makes up two-thirds of the human body. When we use alcohol we are actually putting into our bodies an agent which will in time dry us up, and absorb the fluid of our tissues. This will account for the great dryness of the drunkard's mouth and stomach, and his craving for cooling liquid, water, etc., which will restore the balance of fluid to the exhausted body.

It is a great mistake to suppose that alcoholic drinks are beneficial. Rheumatism, gout, and many other diseases are attributable directly and indirectly to indulgence in wine. The ideas we have concerning the strengthening powers of alcohol are in the main, if not entirely, fallacious. It may be at times necessary to administer brandy as a medicine, as doctors administer strychnine or other poisons in certain circumstances; but no one who has studied the subject will tell me that alcohol in any form is beneficial to the ordinary human being. It causes temporary excitement and destroys the appetite for food, and by food the body is warmed and kept alive. Let any of you take a couple of glasses of whisky and water in the middle of the day, even *after* food, and tell me the result. Are you more fit for work, or not? Can you go back to work after that luncheon hour, or dinner hour, and settle down as well as if you had had no alcoholic liquor? You know you cannot. The senses are dulled, the hand is not so ready, the brain is chilled if the body is warmed. You wish for some excitement or other, not quiet work at your desk. And then comes the reaction. The appetite is gone: tea, supper, or perhaps dinner, supervene, and you have no wish to eat. You are sleepy or dull, and this is the result of alcohol. In an exaggerated form such in-

dulgences make a man tipsy, and I need not inform you how helpless and disgusting is a soddened and tipsy man—what a fearful object is a tipsy woman !

The conclusions which have been come to concerning alcohol are summed up by an experienced analyst :—

- (1) It gives no strength.
- (2) It gives no warmth.
- (3) It builds up no tissue.
- (4) It reduces the " tone " of the body.

In the face of such facts will any wavering one persist ?
 " Oh, House of Israel, why will ye die ? "

Come, then, and take the pledge and wear your badge, not as some do, only to remove it in the hour of temptation, but to let it remain in your coats a token of sobriety and self-denial, an example to others of the benefits to be derived from Gospel Temperance and Total Abstinence.

CXI.—THE BLUE RIBBON—WHAT IS IT ?

My Friends,—

I am here to-night to explain to you what the Blue Ribbon means, and how and why it ought to be worn. Many of you I see are already members of the band, but I hope before we part this evening many who have perhaps come here from mere curiosity will accept the pledge and wear the ribbon when they have heard something concerning it. Now let me speak of the pledge itself.

The most familiar form of the Blue Ribbon pledge is: " With malice towards none, with charity for all, I, the undersigned, do pledge my word and honour, *God helping me*, to abstain from all intoxicating liquors as a beverage—wine, beer, and cider included—and that I will, by all honourable means, encourage others to abstain." Tens of thousands are taking the Blue Ribbon and the pledge ; hence it seems to me that one of the most important things temperance workers have to do is " to explain the Blue Ribbon pledge." What it means is this, and my earnest desire is that it may remind every one who has donned the Blue Ribbon of the serious responsibility they have now undertaken. My friends, temperance, instead of being put in place of the Gospel, is now made a part of it. Tem-

perance now comes forward and bids you, "Friend, go up higher." God is still helping on the work, and now He has put it into the hearts of some of His servants to teach us how it is to be done. We are now to work "*with malice to none.*" We temperance reformers have always had a high and holy mission; we have always been called upon to exercise courage and determination, and now we must work "With malice to none." Our calling now entails the laying aside of "all malice and all guile, and hypocrisies, and envies, and all evil speakings, and to come out boldly; but, '*with charity for all,*' suffering long and being kind, envying not, not behaving ourselves unseemly, not seeking our own, not being easily provoked," and even as far as lies in us, thinking no evil, but having "charity for all." We may well exclaim, "What a high standard! the taking of such a pledge is a serious matter." It is: but it is also true that according to what we have or have not done we shall at the final day of account receive our reward or punishment; hence it may be our duty to take the Blue Ribbon, and remember we take this pledge saying, *God helping us*, we will do this: we may feel that of ourselves we can do nothing, but God will help. If it had not been that His hand was in the work, the great results which are now known would never have been brought about. Many very earnest petitions have been sent to His throne, and these have been answered, and we have an aim, a plan, an endeavour, a method of work, which is being carried out with malice to none.

This famous badge of blue is so simple that even a child may wear it, and the most fastidious cannot object to it, but still it is enough to show that all who do take it have adopted the Gospel Temperance pledge, and do not intend to be ashamed of their colours, but do their part, willingly and readily giving friendly assistance to others to "go up higher;" it may be higher than they have gone before, higher in helping to make smooth paths, higher in helping to remove stumbling blocks, higher in joining in the heart-felt song—

"Hail my comrades with the signal, the emblem of the true,
The nation is awaking to the wearing of the blue."

The nation truly is awaking, but how? It is no longer, "Friend, go up higher," but now it is, "Friend, *come up* higher." I recommend you to do this, as I have done it myself; I call upon you to assist others to come up, for—

" Across the land from sea to sea
 We're falling into line,
 Forsaking all the gilded haunts
 Of sin, and shame, and wine ;
 Awaking to a better life,
 To proudly dare and do."

There are still some few who remain outside our appeal, and we need to know how to deal with them. To these we have a message, among these we must work, and if we would know *how*, let us remember, and endeavour in all our dealings with them to fully carry out our motto, "*No malice, true charity, asking the help of God.*" Appeal to them : Friend, come up higher ; I will do my best to show you the way, and God will help me. Friend, join the ranks of those who are nobly standing side by side. Friend, give us your help towards bringing some one to a turning point, which may be the means of leading them to seek after that peace of God which passeth all understanding. Friend, think what your example is doing, think that you have an influence with some one that we have not. Think is it not your duty to assist us in telling those who need to be told ? Here is an act for you to undertake, and—

" Heaven's smile will rest upon you
 When the *grand* deed is done."*

CXII.—CARDINAL MANNING ON TOTAL ABSTINENCE.

His Eminence said he was quite sure that if they were not all red-hot in their determination to do everything they could for the League of the Cross, they would not have come there on such a night, but it might be well to remind them of the reasons why they were working so hard. It was because the drink traffic at this moment was a national shame, a national folly, and a national danger. We were a Christian people, and a civilised people, but nevertheless it was not the poor Chinese, nor the poor Hindoos, nor the poor Mahommedans who drank to drunkenness, for by their laws or religion they were all bound to drink no intoxicating drink, and as a rule they did not. Drunkenness was to be found in the Christian and civilised world, and he maintained that it was a great shame that

* A portion of the above is taken from the *Temperance Chronicle*.

that which was a brutal vice, which embrutes and bestialises men and women, should be found, not among poor heathen, but among the Christian and civilised people of the world. That which was a great shame in the Christian world was a special and burning shame upon Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen—those who made up the British Empire—and for this reason, there was not a country in the world into which Britons went where they did not carry with them intoxicating drink, and, what was almost worse, a trade in opium was promoted which destroyed races of poor uncivilised people. A Christian people ought to carry the benedictions and graces of Christianity and all that civilisation could do to refine and elevate uncivilised nations, but they carried a plague and pestilence instead of Christian civilisation. They knew the condition of people at home. There were 120,000 deaths in every year arising from intoxicating drink, and if there were that number of deaths, how many hundreds of thousands were there of those that were diseased unto death and did not die? What a wide-spread plague of disease of every kind hung like a pall over the population of this country through intoxicating drink. It was not one in ten of the number of sick persons who died. They might multiply this number of 120,000 tenfold, and those practised in medicine told them that at least seven in every ten of the worst diseases were directly or indirectly caused or aggravated by the use of intoxicating drink; and as some of the most eminent of them had said, not only by intoxicating drink in excess, but intoxicating drink in what people call moderation. After alluding to the progress of the Total Abstinence movement, his Eminence said he hoped they would do their best to work with the United Kingdom Alliance. They were met to celebrate Father Mathew's birthday, which was a moveable feast, for he believed it was on the 12th of this month that Father Mathew founded a number of temperance societies in London, but with the exception of one or two they became extinct, because there was no organisation to back them up. What the United Kingdom Alliance was, as far as the political part of the work was concerned, the League of the Cross was morally and spiritually, and he exhorted them to enrol their names among the members of the League.

CXIII.—SPEECH BY PROFESSOR BLAIKIE.

Professor Blaikie, who received a cordial welcome from the meeting, remarked that this was not the first Gospel Temperance Meeting he had addressed by any means ; but it was the first he had addressed in Edinburgh, and it was the first meeting of this magnitude that he addressed on that particular aspect of temperance. He liked the combination of the terms "Gospel" and "Temperance." The word "Gospel," as the hymn which had been so sweetly sung indicated, meant "good tidings," and "Gospel temperance" he understood to mean that temperance was part of the good tidings given to them. It was the glory of Christ's Gospel that what it offered to men it offered fully, freely, and at once, "without money and without price." If that were true of all the blessings of the Gospel, it must be true of temperance if it were one of these blessings ; so that he understood the Gospel of Jesus Christ made offer of full and free emancipation from the evil and guilt of intemperance, and a full and free offer of the blessings of temperance to all who would come to Christ and receive these blessings at His hand. In fact, it was just the fulfilment of the words of the prophet, which our blessed Lord applied to Himself—"The spirit of the Lord hath anointed me to preach deliverance to the captive." It was a proclamation of deliverance to the captive, and embraced the prisoner in the captivity of strong drink. It was a very wretched captivity—a very hopeless captivity in many cases. It was a captivity out of which the unhappy captive had often sought to deliver himself, and had often appealed to his fellow-men to deliver him, and made the appeal often in the most plaintive and touching terms and tones, but in vain. The jailer had been too strong—a stronger man who had had him in bonds had not been willing to let him go, and a stronger than he had not yet come by him to his deliverance. He believed this proclamation of temperance was part of the blessings of the Gospel, and was offered, in consequence, even to the person who had been most hopelessly sunk under the power of a love of drink. The Lord, who was high in might and power, to whom all power had been given in heaven and in earth, was able to accomplish the deliverance of the captive just as much as He was able by a word and touch to cleanse the poor leper who, in all the loathsomeness of his disease and hopelessness of his outcast position, came to Him and said, "Lord, if Thou wilt Thou canst make me clean." That was what he believed they might understand by Gospel Temperance. It did not

merely offer him deliverance from this one form of sin, but from all sins through Christ and the power of His Spirit. It was a means whereby they would be kept from temptation, and supported and delivered if temptation did come. They all knew how pressing and vehement were the efforts made to get persons who wished to be temperate to indulge themselves in places and in ways which were very apt to make them intemperate. They knew for instance that some young men could not resist the temptations of their comrades to drink. In pledging themselves they gave an answer once and for all, and it ought to be respected. A pledge was not to be taken in an easy and off-hand way, but should be taken with a due sense of the solemn promise made, as, according to the words of Scripture, "Better was it not to vow than to vow and not perform." He urged upon all who took the pledge to respect it. Many people told them that drinking was going out, and in certain forms, no doubt, it was; but in other forms it was coming in. He was sure that during the last generation there was a great deal more drinking in certain circles than there was forty years ago, and a great deal more drinking among women than there was when he began his ministry about forty years ago. They had not the least reason to draw bridle—work had yet to be done, and with increasing activity and vigour. Professor Blaikie went on to tell about the drunken condition of a seaside resort not twenty miles from Edinburgh, where he had been staying. The air was full of health, but the curse of drink was in the place, and during the short period he had been there four deaths had occurred which must be ascribed entirely to intemperance. He trusted this movement begun in the city would not evaporate on the removal of a temporary influence. Let them try to make it permanent—make it extensive and intensive. He hoped that God might abundantly bless the labours of His servant among them, who had been instrumental in doing so much in other places, and that they should have cause to thank God for his visit.

CXIV.—LORD CLAUD HAMILTON, M.P., ON THE
TEMPERANCE QUESTION.

The Chairman said this was rather a remarkable year—the year of the Temperance Jubilee. They no doubt were aware of the history of its beginning with the seven men of Preston. It was a very small and humble commencement, but with the blessing of God it had spread throughout the land. He thought this was a glorious achievement to have been brought about within the period of a human life, and he believed two of the seven men were still alive to witness the result of their efforts. During his political life he had seen many changes in the public mind, and especially in the opinion of what might be called the enlightened classes. He was in Parliament at the time the temperance question was introduced in the form of the first Permissive Bill, and did his best to promote it, but the opposition was so great that the members who supported it were looked upon as fanatics, and were received with derisive laughter. This state of things went on for some time, but by putting forth sound arguments they made a great impression, and began to be listened to with attention, and gradually the annual motion was treated in a more sensible way, and, in fact, so important had it grown that the question had great power at the time of Parliamentary elections. He might even say that temperance had become one of the powers in the State. The progress it had made was truly wonderful. Take for example the various religious bodies, and they would find that the Cardinal Archbishop, Wesleyan and Baptist ministers, and the representatives of almost every religious sect invited each other to co-operate and act as brothers in the war against drink. One of the most eminent physicians of the day, Sir Andrew Clarke, had come over to their side and given a direct denial to the theory that alcohol was a nutritious food. Sir B. W. Richardson and Dr. Norman Kerr were early converts, but let them look how one after another the profession had come over to their side. It was therefore proved that alcohol was not a good thing, except perhaps occasionally as a medicine, just as poisons were. Hanlan had publicly stated that he was positive he should not have been nearly so successful had he not been a total abstainer. He was pleased to say that marvellous progress had been made in the Army and Navy, to whom we owed so much of our national greatness; and it gratified him exceedingly to be able to say that this change was mainly due to two ladies—Miss Weston and Miss Robinson. In

the Army they were not at first received very graciously by the officers, but they soon saw the enormous advantage of having temperate men under their control ; and now both these ladies were well received both by the officers and the men, and the immediate result of their labour was the establishment of a temperance canteen in every barrack, and at all the sea-ports in Europe there had lately been opened places where sailors who wished to be away from the drink could stay without fear of temptation. All this was the outcome of the labour of these two ladies, and it induced him to remind the fair sex of their great influence, and to beseech them to use it in the cause of temperance. It had no doubt been gratifying to every Englishman to hear of the brilliant success of our Army and Navy in Egypt. They must have read with pleasure of the vigour with which our troops attacked the enemy ; but he would say there was an enemy at work within our very midst doing tenfold more harm than the Egyptians could do. It was a domestic foe in every way, and they ought to be stimulated with a determination to crush that foe. Of course, that remained with them, and he had every confidence, seeing that so much had already been done, they would go on in the same way until the enemy was completely destroyed.

SECTION IX.

RULES FOR THE FORMATION OF LOCAL PARLIAMENTS.

THERE are in the United Kingdom at the present time a number of Debating Societies calling themselves "Parliaments," which have been organised to give members the opportunity of ventilating political and social questions on the basis of Parliamentary procedure.

These Parliaments have in many instances been very successful in developing debating talent, and in discovering the party preponderance in certain districts, and therefore in indicating the feeling of the country upon important questions of the day.

It has appeared to the publishers that a brief *résumé* of the chief points to be attended to in the formation and conduct of such Parliamentary Debating Societies may be usefully included in the present volume; and they have accordingly caused the following rules to be compiled, principally from actual "Parliamentary Procedure" as set forth by Lord Farnborough, who, as Sir Erskine May, had been the Clerk of the House of Commons.

The Rules and Regulations have been revised and, when necessary, adapted to local parliamentary necessities by an experienced hand. The assistance here given will, the publishers believe, be found useful to any one engaged in mimic legislative debates.

The following Rules or "Standing Orders" are based upon experience:—

It will be necessary to have a book in which every member must enter his name and address when he pays his subscription for the year, or for the session, as may be decided by the Council.

The OFFICERS of a Parliamentary Debating Society should be as follows, and must be members of the society.

- (1) The Speaker,
- (2) Chairman of Committees (or Deputy-Speaker),
- (3) Clerk of the House.
- (4) Deputy-Clerk and Secretary.
- (5) Treasurer.

The Treasurer, and Deputy-Clerk and Secretary, may be paid officials in the discretion of the Council ; but in that case they can have no vote in a division. The Clerk of the House and Chairman of Committees may be permitted to vote ; but, as a rule, it is better if no officials be allowed to go into the lobbies.

The COUNCIL should consist of seven or nine members, the officers of the House being *ex officio* members of it. The Council may advisedly be selected from different political parties, as evenly balanced as possible. The Council should be elected on the first night of the session, and continue in office until the first night of the ensuing session. A fresh election of Council and Officers will then take place.

The President of the Council is elected by the Council, who in a body have the control of the funds through the treasurer, and the inspection of the accounts, etc., rendered by him. A vacancy in the Council may be filled up by that body at the first meeting after the announcement of such vacancy to the House in session. Five out of nine members form a quorum, and so on in proportion.

Notices of a Council meeting should be sent out by the Secretary at least one week before the date named for the meeting. (For this and other reasons it is advisable that the Secretary be a paid official and responsible to the Council.)

FORMATION OF A MINISTRY.

The "Ministry" should be formed by the elected Leader of either political party whose means and opportunities are sufficient to do so. The Government should at first, if possible, be of the same politics as the actual Government of the country. But they may be compelled to resign by the rejection of a Bill, or a Vote of Censure, etc., being carried against them.

The Leader of the Ministerial Party will choose his

colleagues, and will nominate them to various posts corresponding, when practicable, to those actually in the Cabinet. He must find subjects for debate, compose the "King's Speech," and introduce Bills and other matter for discussion—in correspondence with the Leader of the Opposition.

When the Ministry resigns (or is defeated) the Leader of the Opposition will take office if prepared to do so; or he may permit the hitherto existing Ministry to resume the business and carry on the government until the end of the session, if his party be not sufficiently strong to conduct it.

The MEETINGS of a Local Parliament may be called weekly, at an hour most convenient to the majority of the members. This time should be fixed upon at a preliminary general meeting of the members, who can at the same time elect the officers, etc., of the Parliament. The Regulations proposed should be submitted to this preliminary meeting and formulated after full discussion.

The subscriptions being paid, and the members elected being present at the specified time, the first proceeding will consist in *reading the Minutes of the previous meeting*. This must always be done first after the Speaker has taken the chair; or, if considered desirable, the Speaker may put the question to the House that "the Minutes be taken as read." This will save time.

After the reading of the Minutes of the previous meeting, the introduction to the Speaker of newly elected Members, and the names of newly proposed members, will be recorded.

The newly elected members should be accompanied by their respective proposers and seconders, and should advance up the floor of the House to the Speaker's chair, and be formally introduced to him by name, and as the Members for the Constituencies they have severally elected to represent.

When all the new members have been introduced, then those whose names have been submitted, with their addresses, and the names of their proposers and seconders, are read to the House, and they will be elected by the Council at the following Council meeting if no objection be lodged, and may be introduced as new members at the following meeting of the Parliament.

When any member presents himself at the table to pay his subscription, the Clerk or Secretary shall request him to enter his name and address and Constituency in the Members' Book, and the Secretary or Clerk shall enter his name in the "Constituency" Book; and if the place have

a member already allotted to it, the member must choose another place to represent.

Members take their places to the right or left of the Speaker, according as their party is in or out of office. The front seats on the right are occupied by the Ministry, those on the left by the Leaders of the Opposition.

After the introduction of, and the proposals for, new members have been completed, Notices of Questions and of Motions should be handed in, and either read by the members who wish to bring them forward, or handed in *in duplicate* to the Clerk of the House at the table. He will then read them, and the Secretary will see that the Ministry have the questions to answer by next meeting. The Motions will then be proceeded with in the same way, and when those of which previous notice had been given have been answered or debated, the adjourned debate (if any) will be resumed.

The above is the mode of proceeding which will be found perfectly suitable to Local Parliaments and in accordance with usage. It is desirable that all routine business should be conducted as expeditiously as possible, as the members generally will be interested only in the debate.

RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR LOCAL PARLIAMENTARY DEBATING SOCIETIES.

The **SPEAKER** is the controller of the House : all debate ceases when he rises, and his dictum must be accepted as final. He has a casting vote when parties are equal, and may give it either way, but experience teaches that he gives it to the "Nocs." His duty is to keep the debate in the proper channel and to enforce the rules of the House. It is proper and customary to bow to the Speaker when entering or leaving the House, and no member or stranger wearing his hat must sit in the House in presence of the Speaker.

Members must not pass and repass between the Speaker and the member addressing the House.

No stranger must seat himself or be permitted to remain in any portion of the House set apart for members only.

When a member is in possession of the House all the rest should be silent, or at any rate no audible interruption should be made ; and no periodical should be read unless for information to be used in connection with the debate.

SPEAKING.—In speaking in the House a member must look to the Speaker and address him, and keep strictly to the point of discussion. He must not allude to previous debates that session unless he wish to move that a question be re-opened, or a decision be rescinded. He must then conclude with a motion to that effect.

When a Motion has been made and then seconded, after due notice having been given of the member's intention to propose any question for consideration, it is then put to the House by the Speaker; but if the Motion be not seconded it is dropped.

A Motion, if unopposed, may be made without previous notice; but if subsequently any one objects to it the proposer must withdraw it.

In the absence of the Speaker the chair will be taken by his Deputy; but if it should happen that the Deputy Speaker is also absent, then the House must choose one of its members to the position. The nomination may be challenged, and a show of hands will decide the point, and so on till a selection be approved.

The Rules for DIVISIONS are those generally in force in the House of Commons, the Tellers being appointed by the Speaker; and these gentlemen in pairs receive the votes as the members file in to the right or left lobby, according as they are "Ayes" or "Noes." The Tellers then respectively hand the papers to the Speaker, who reads the numbers, and declares which party has the advantage, in the usual way.

We can only thus indicate a few of the leading points to be observed in the formation and arrangement of a Parliamentary Debating Society. Every such society must be influenced more or less by local conditions, which will change; but the chief points to be observed are touched upon above—the details can easily be filled in from any work upon Parliamentary Procedure.

SECTION X.

THE CHAIRMAN AND HIS DUTIES.

A CHAIRMAN is invariably appointed at public meetings, and in all social gatherings of a more or less formal character where speaking is expected. His duties, in the first instance, at public meetings will be briefly considered.

THE CHOICE OF A CHAIRMAN.

There may be some difficulty in the appointment of a chairman, and much will depend upon the choice. The individual chosen must have intelligence and readiness, and be capable of enforcing order and making the chair respected by all. A weak man in the chair is worse than nobody, because his authority, and the authority of his office, can be set aside by a strong mind in the audience, and the object of the meeting may be defeated. Therefore, it is very necessary to choose a really strong, firm, and well-read man, whose opinion will carry weight and whose appearance inspires respect.

When the meeting has assembled, the first business is the appointment of a chairman. One gentleman present may propose a friend, so may several others, and then the only way to decide the question is by a show of hands or voting. Some of the candidates may not be seconded, and then their chance is disposed of. Of course these remarks only apply to cases wherein no chairman is present *ex officio*.

The first duty of the chairman when seated is to state clearly and distinctly the objects for which the meeting has been called, or, if there has been a previous meeting, to have the minutes of the proceedings of the previous meeting read.

He will probably read the notice convening the meeting, and proceed to state his views upon the subject in his opening speech. The company present will then be in possession of the whole matter, and be able to speak upon the various questions. A motion will then be made and seconded, or, if it be not seconded, it is the duty of the chairman to inquire whether any one will do so, and then the question can be put and discussed.

During the discussion the chairman must keep his attention directed to the point at issue, and if the speaker on either side wander from the point or introduce personal or irrelevant matter, he must call him to order and to the subject before the meeting, which must not be lost sight of in a cloud of verbiage. The chairman will have to keep order, and, if there be much party feeling present, to repress any tendency to uproar or "unparliamentary" proceedings.

The subject having been discussed and the original mover having replied on the question, the votes or a show of hands will be taken in the usual manner. The chairman, unless a division is demanded, will decide whether the motion is lost or carried, and announce the same to the meeting. He may give his casting vote if he please ; but unless the question be very important he will do well to abstain from voting, for one vote, unless the parties be equal, can do no good.

If an amendment has been moved to the original motion, the sense of the meeting on the amendment must be taken by the chairman, before the motion is put to the vote. The amendment, if carried, puts the motion aside ; but it may itself be lost after all, for some may object to the motion and to the form of the amendment.

When the business has terminated, and all discussion has ceased, the chairman formally declares the meeting at an end, and leaves the chair. It is then customary for some one present to propose a vote of thanks to him for his conduct of the business, and this is seconded and carried as a rule without question.

The meeting may then be made "special," and various resolutions can be passed according to the terms upon which the Company or Society has been embodied. Another chairman may be elected, or the same gentleman can officiate if requested to do so.

The chairman of a social gathering has a different office to perform. He takes his place before dinner and holds it to the end of the evening ; though it happens occasionally that as President of a Company he may preside at the dinner and move another gentleman into the chair

when the toasts come to be proposed, after grace has been sung or said. A vice-chairman is also appointed, and keeps the other or more distant end of the board under his sway.

IT IS THE CHAIRMAN'S DUTY to propose the usual loyal toasts of the King and Royal Family, the Services, &c., and to name the responders ; and also the " Toast of the evening," whatever it may be. If the company be convivially inclined he calls upon those present for a song, or for instrumental music, as may have been arranged ; and, generally, it is his business to keep order amongst the company by tact, temper, and good management, to preserve the harmony of the evening, and to see that no one exceeds the bounds of good taste. He generally takes wine with the guests, his intention to do so being intimated by the toast-master—if one be present—or by a waiter in ordinary circumstances. There are many little courtesies to be observed by a chairman which will readily suggest themselves to any one who occupies the position ; and he generally proposes the health of the vice-chairman before the meeting separates.

The disposal of the guests with reference to the chairman or president is made according to precedence, the Royal Family having the lead, unless a certain personage be bidden specially to be honoured, when he occupies the place on the right hand of the chairman, and the eldest representative of Royalty present the place on the left hand. The guest of the evening is always seated at the right hand of the chair, the next in honour on the left, and so on according to rank and standing, honoured guests being also seated near the high table, with notable members of the society or corporation in whose hall the dinner is given.

The chairman at a public dinner remains standing until all the guests are seated, and when he assumes the chair, after grace is said, dinner is served. He will be waited upon last, or at any rate he must see that the guests have all they require ; and to him all the guests must defer. When it comes to speaking after dinner, the chairman has the loyal toasts and the toast of the evening to propose. But in cases where there is no established form of speech he should say something appropriate, and if he can season his remarks with anecdotes so much the better. We remember once hearing the guest of the evening, when

proposing prosperity to the club or institution he was attending, make a loudly applauded and very amusing speech simply by recounting anecdotes of his University days. The speaker merely went from story to story, and sat down, after proposing the toast of—Prosperity to the Society, having said scarcely anything concerning it. Anecdotes, therefore, are very useful to speakers, and we would suggest to all chairmen a stock of such as will be suited to the company.

SECTION XI.

TOASTS AND SENTIMENTS.

LOYAL TOASTS.

May the King live ever in his subjects' hearts.

All our Nobles and all noble hearts.

Firmness in Parliament, valour in the field, and fortitude on the sea.

May all our Commanders have the eye of a Hawke and the heart of a Wolfe.

May the sword of Justice be swayed by the hand of Mercy.

Church and King.

May no true son of Neptune shrink from his gun.

May the hearts of our sons be honest and brave, and our daughters modest and pure.

May the enemies of England never meet a friend in Great Britain.

Rose, Shamrock, and Thistle.

MILITARY.

The British Army: firm in disaster, courageous in danger, and merciful in victory.

Every soldier a pleasant halt, and every rogue a long halter.

May British laurels never fade.

May the British soldier never turn his back to the foe.

Honour and the sword : may they never be parted.

May the soldier never fall a sacrifice but to glory.

British arms, and British hands to use them.

May the brow of the brave never want a laurel wreath.

The memory of the brave who fell at —.

May good leaders always have good followers.

NAVAL.

The British Navy : may it ever sail on a sea of glory, wafted to victory by the gales of prosperity.

The Sea : may it bring a spring tide of prosperity to England.

May the tar who loses one eye in war never see distress with the other.

May our seamen wear hearts of oak even if iron-clad.

May Content be our pilot in the voyage of life.

Here's to the tar that sticks like pitch to his duty.

The memory of Nelson and the brave

May rudders govern and ships obey.

Britain's sheet anchor—her ships.

Lots of beef and oceans of grog.

Sweethearts and wives.

Foes well tarred, and tars well feathered.

LOVE.

The spring of love and the harvest of enjoyment.

Love in a cottage and envy to none.

May lovers' vows never end in lovers' quarrels.
The rose of love without any thorns.

A health to all those whom we love,
A health to all those who love us,
A health to all those who love them that love those,
Who love those that love them who love us.

Love, liberty, and true friendship.

Laughing lovers and merry maids.

May we kiss those we please, and please those we kiss.

May the bud of affection be ripened by the sunshine
of sincerity.

May the wings of love never lose a feather.

The single married and the married happy.

The face that Nature paints, and the heart that knows
no deception.

Love to one, friendship to a few, goodwill to all.

Constancy and kindness : may they never be parted.

The lady we love, and the friend we trust.

May we have sense to win a heart, and merit to keep it.

Constancy in love, sincerity in friendship.

The fountain of love in all its purity.

The roses of love with the sweetbriar of chaste affection.

May the sparks of love brighten into flame.

MASONIC.

Our King and ancient craft.

All the Fraternity round the globe.

The Grand Lodge of England.

The Grand Lodge of Scotland.

The Grand Lodge of Ireland.

All well-disposed Masons.

To Masons and to Masons' bairns,
And women with both wit and charms.

To all that live within the compass and the square.

To all Masons who walk in the line.

To all ancient Freemasons wherever dispersed.

May the Lodges in this place be distinguished for love,
peace, and harmony.

The absent Brethren of the Lodge.

May the prospect of riches never induce a Mason to do
that which is repugnant to virtue.

May Masonry flourish till nature expire,
And its glories ne'er fade till the world is on fire.

May our actions as Masons be properly squared.

The memory of the distinguished three.

May every brother have a heart to feel and a hand to give.

May covetous cares be unknown to Freemasons.

The heart which conceals
And the tongue which ne'er reveals.

May no Freemason taste the bitter apples of affliction.

To the innocent and faithful craft.

May the gentle spirit of Love animate the heart of every
Mason.

To our next happy meeting.

May every brother learn to live within the compass and
watch upon the square.

May the square, plumb-line, and level regulate the
conduct of every brother.

As we meet upon the level may we part upon the square.

Golden eggs to every brother, and goldfinches to our
Lodges.

May every Freemason find constancy in love and sin-
cerity in friendship.

FRIENDSHIP.

May the bark of friendship never founder in the well of
deception.

May we be richer in friends than in money.

May we never want a friend to cheer us, nor a bottle to cheer him.

May old friends never be forgot for new ones.

May the lamp of friendship be lighted by the oil of sincerity.

Ability to serve a friend, and honour to conceal it.

May difference of opinion never alter friendship.

More friends and less need of them.

May the friend of distress never know sorrow.

Gratitude to our friends and grace to our foes.

May the hinges of friendship never rust.

May the friendly bosom never lack a friend.

May friendship smile in our cups and content in our loves.

-A friend who is true—the sunshine of life.

To the secret and silent.

All absent friends on land and sea.

May our friends have no present burden, and futurity no terrors.

May we always have a friend and know his value.

CONVIVIAL.

May we always have a friend and a bottle to give him.

May our love of wine never make us forget our manners.

May we act with reason when the bottle circulates.

Cheerfulness in our cups, content in our minds, and competency in our pockets.

May the moments of mirth be regulated by the dial of reason.

Champagne to our real friends and real pain to our sham friends.

May the juice of the grape enliven each soul,
And good humour preside at the head of each bowl.

Old wine and young women.

We met to be merry, now let us part wise,
Nor suffer the bottle to blind reason's eyes.

The feast of reason and the flow of soul.

All absent friends—God bless them !

A bottle to-night and business in the morning.

Oh, wine, the juice of the grape divine,
In thy good spirit may I ne'er forget mine.

Here's a health to all good lasses !
Pledge it merrily, fill your glasses,
Let the bumper toast go round.

The Ladies, and may they always share our joys and sorrows.

Drink, boys, drink, and drive away sorrow—
For perhaps we may not drink again to-morrow.

COMIC.

May your shadow never be less.

May every hair of your head be a mould candle to light you to glory !

May the chicken never be hatched that will scratch on your grave !

The early bird and the worm he picked up !

The nimble ninepence : may it soon grow into a florin.

May we live all the days of our lives.

A good Sovereign, and his image in our pockets.

The land we live in : may we never be sent out of it.

All true joys—but may we never be transported.

Here's to the maiden of blushing fifteen,
Here's to the housewife that's thrifty,
Here's to the flaunting extravagant queen,
And here's to the widow of fifty !

The three great commanders—General Peace, General Plenty, and General Prosperity.

The best doctors—Dr. Quiet, Dr. Diet, and Dr. Merryman.

The merry thought, and no "black legs" at table.

Here's to the poor heart that never rejoices.

Here's to the good man who kept a dog and barked himself.

Here's to the old bird that was not caught with chaff.

Our noble selves,

SPORTING.

May the end of the chase be the beginning of happiness.

The pack that a sheet will cover.

May our horses, hounds, and hearts never fail us.

May those who love the crack of the whip never want a brush to follow.

The gallant huntsman of the —— country.

The brave sportsman !

The huntsman dear !

The sportsman that never beats about the bush.

The tender heart, and the brave rider.

The man that catches fair game and doesn't poach on another's preserves.

Rod and line : may they never part company.

The gallant hound that never goes on a false scent.

Bat and ball. Long may they be honestly opposed in the field.

The steady fisherman—who never "reels home" !

The Eleven : may they always be steady in adversity, and upright beside the *wicked*.

May Britons never neglect sport for double-dealing.

Our "Masters : " may they always show us good game, and deal well with their packs.

Reynard the fox !—Heaven preserve his family and friends !

A strong arm and a steady eye !

May the sweet savour of our good deeds lie well when we have "gone over the last fence."

MISCELLANEOUS.

May opinions never float in the sea of ignorance.

May we never crack a joke and break a reputation.

May the pleasure of youth bring us consolation in old age.

May the sunshine of comfort dispel the clouds of despair.

All fortune's daughters except the eldest—Miss-fortune.

All tails but tell-tales.

Great men honest and honest men great.

Good trade and well paid.

May the devil cut the toes of all our foes
That we may know them by their limping.

May we live to learn and learn to live well.

May we never murmur without cause, and never have cause to murmur.

May we never want a bait when we fish for conduct.

Love, life, liberty, and friendship.

Success to our army, success to our fleet,
May our foes be compelled to bow down at our feet.

May the mirror of conscience show us the face of truth.

May modesty rule our desires and moderation our wishes.

May avarice lose his purse and benevolence find it.

May care be a stranger to every honest heart.

May fortune recover her eyesight and distribute her gifts.

May bad examples never corrupt youthful morals.

May poverty never come to us without hope.

THE PRECEDENCE OF GUESTS.

THERE are few topics of more interest to the dinner-giver than the order in which guests should be sent down to dinner, or the manner in which they should be placed. In ordinary middle-class society there is no difficulty. The gentleman who holds the highest social rank should take the hostess into dinner, and his wife should be escorted in ordinary circumstances by the master of the house. But if a younger, or even an unmarried, lady of higher rank be present, the host will escort her to the dining-room, for the precedence of ladies is of great social consequence.

It may happen that a hostess wishes to do honour to a new guest, and she may then ask him to take her into dinner to the exclusion of a person of higher rank who is an older friend ; but even if this be so, and it should not in strictness occur, the hostess should be careful to place the gentleman of highest rank upon her right hand at table. When it is only a question of precedence amongst gentlemen there need not be very much anxiety in the matter, particularly if they to whom the question may apply be unmarried ; but where there are married people, wives are frequently great "sticklers" for correctness, and may be exceedingly jealous of husband-rank. So it behoves all concerned to be careful to award the correct position. There is no precedence rule amongst the middle classes, and in such, the vast majority of cases, precedence must be ruled by social standing and intimacy—with reference to marriage and local position.

Married ladies and widows are entitled to the same rank amongst each other as their husbands would respectively have borne amongst themselves, provided such rank arises from a *dignity* and not from an *office* or *profession*. "By

rank through dignity alone is precedence conferred upon a lady." This is Sir Bernard Burke's rule upon the subject, and no better can be quoted. So even an Archbishop, his Grace of Canterbury included, can bestow no precedence upon his wife by his office, although he takes precedence of all peers, except such as may be Royal Dukes.

The Lord Chancellor, the second English peer, can only confer precedence on his wife according to the date of his dignity. The wives of Bishops, Esquires, or even of Privy Councillors, would have to yield the *pas* to a Baronet's or even a Knight's daughter, because she derives her rank from a "dignity," which the other ladies do not do. A Judge's wife similarly would only take precedence if her husband were knighted; and then she would rank after the ladies of Military Knights, of which wearers of "The Bath" come first, then the "Star of India," and "Michael and George," the "Grand Crosses" ranking before the "Knights Commanders." Of course, in purely homely gatherings the question of precedence does not arise, the hostess asking the gentlemen to escort particularised ladies.

RULES OF PRECEDENCE.

Precedence amongst Peers depends upon the date of the creation of their titles. This rule is invariable, and governs all ranks of peerage, and also baronets and knights. The inexperienced must be careful not to confound *courtesy* titles with real peerages. The eldest sons of dukes, marquises, and earls are always called by one of their father's other titles. Thus the eldest son of the Duke of Athole is Marquis of Tullibardine; of the Marquis of Conyngham, Earl of Mount Charles; of the Earl of Courtown, Viscount Stopford. These are what are termed "courtesy titles," and their bearers take rank not as marquises, earls, viscounts, or lords, but as the eldest sons of dukes, marquises, and earls. The eldest son of a duke takes rank after marquises and before earls; the eldest son of a marquis after the youngest sons of dukes of the Blood Royal, and before the younger sons of dukes and before viscounts; the eldest son of an earl after viscounts and before the younger sons of marquises and bishops; the eldest son of a viscount, who has no courtesy title, but is styled Honourable, after barons', and before earls', younger sons; the eldest son of a baron, also styled Honourable, after earls'

younger sons and before privy councillors and judges. The precedence of the wives is, of course, the same as that of their husbands. The younger sons of dukes and marquises are lords : Lord Claud Hamilton, son of the Duke of Abercorn ; Lord Albert Seymour, son of the Marquis of Hertford. It is a common error among those not *au fait* in the matter to omit the Christian name, and say Lord Hamilton, but nothing can show greater ignorance. The younger sons of dukes take rank after the eldest sons of marquises and before viscounts', the eldest sons of marquises after those of earls and before bishops ; the eldest sons of earls after those of viscounts and barons ; the eldest sons of viscounts after privy councillors and judges, and before the younger sons of barons ; while the eldest sons of barons take rank after those of viscounts and before baronets.

Baronets take rank in order of their creation, and after them follow knights according to their orders ; masters in chancery or lunacy, companions of the several orders of knighthood ; eldest sons of the younger sons of peers, baronets' eldest sons, eldest sons of knights according to their orders, baronets' younger sons (their wives following strictly the same precedence), esquires.

The daughters of a house almost always enjoy the same rank as their *eldest* brother, and follow immediately after his wife. Daughters of dukes, marquises, and earls are styled ladies ; Lady Georgiana Hamilton, Lady Elizabeth Campbell. It is a terrible solecism to omit the Christian name, and say Lady Hamilton or Lady Campbell, but it is one frequently committed, though "Lady Campbell" would naturally imply the wife of either a peer or a baronet. It is a very common saying that a lady can never *lose* rank, but this is not strictly the case. Thus, the daughter of a duke takes precedence of a countess ; but if she marry a viscount or a baron she takes her husband's rank, and the countess takes precedence of her. She only keeps her precedence by marrying *positive* rank ; thus, the daughter of a duke marrying the eldest son of a marquis or of an earl retains her own rank, and instead of being Viscount and Viscountess A., they are styled Viscount and Lady Mary A. When, however, her husband succeeds to his father's title and becomes a peer, she takes his rank and loses her precedence of birth. If, however, the lady is of the same rank, she takes the courtesy title, as in the case of a duke's daughter marrying a duke's eldest son, or of a marquis's daughter marrying a marquis's eldest son. Of course, a peer's daughter marrying either a baronet or an esquire always retains her own rank ;

an earl's daughter married to an esquire takes precedence of a baroness, but her children derive no precedence from it, unless in the rare instance of her being a *peeress in her own right*; for, as a rule, dignities descend only in the male line. The method of addressing a letter to a "lady in her own right," as the daughters of the three highest ranks of the peerage are termed, is "The Lady Mary Jones," "The" being placed on a line above the name. The daughters of viscounts and barons are Honourables; if married, letters are addressed to them, "Honble. Mrs. White," "Honble." being on a line above; and if unmarried, "Honble. Mary Green," "Honble. Georgiana Brown." In commencing a letter they are styled, "Dear Lady Mary," not "Lady Mary Jones." The wife of a baronet or of a knight is styled "Lady," like the wife of a baron; but in addressing a letter to the latter it is necessary to put "*The Lady A.*," while the prefix "The" is not used for the wife of a baronet or knight. A peer's daughter married to a baronet or knight is "Lady Jane Black," or the "Honble. Lady Black."

When a gentleman is created a peer, his children become Honourables, but it in no way affects the denomination or the precedence of his brothers and sisters, the patent making no mention of them, but only of his own heirs male. When, however, a peer's (let us say a marquis's) eldest son, who is married and has children, dies before his father—when the marquis dies, and his grandson succeeds to the title, the young peer's sisters and younger brothers are accorded the rank of the sons and daughters of a marquis, which would have naturally been theirs had their father lived to succeed in due course, but his mother retains simply her husband's courtesy title. This case applies to all peers; the rule is not extended to baronets. A peeress is styled Dowager when her son is the actual peer and is married. It is only the mother of the actual peer who is simply Duchess or Marchioness Dowager; if she be his grandmother—that is, if there are three peeresses of the title—she would be styled "Emily, Duchess Dowager," "Jane, Viscountess Dowager," "Louisa Dowager Lady A." If, however, the peer who succeeds her husband is not her son, but some other relative of the late peer, she is styled, "Mary, Marchioness of B.," "Katherine, Countess of O."

In addressing gentlemen who are sons of peers, it should be remembered that if in the Army or Navy the official title *precedes* the dignity; thus, "Captain Lord G.," "Colonel the Honble. J. T.;" but if they are in the Church the case is reversed: "The Honble. and Rev. Oscar H."

No written code of county or city order of precedence has been promulgated, but in the county the Lord-Lieutenant stands first and the Sheriff second. In London and other Corporations the Mayor stands first, and after him the Aldermen, Sheriff, Chief Officers, and Livery. At Oxford and Cambridge the High Sheriff takes precedence of the Vice-Chancellor.

There is a strange belief entertained by some persons that in his own parish a clergyman is entitled to take precedence of any one, no matter how much above him in the social scale. We need hardly say that this is a misapprehension. *A clergyman can claim no precedence whatever as such.* In cases where all the company are on a level, any distinction, no matter how slight and unimportant, is gladly seized upon, but the smallest shadow of social rank is sufficient to extinguish any such pretensions. In a cathedral town, where society is almost exclusively clerical, all the distinctions of clerical rank are, of course, minutely observed; and so in military, naval, and legal circles, the various professions have a distinct precedence amongst each other, which it sometimes pleases them to extend to their wives, though these ladies have no claim to it. However, in general society, should there be absolutely no precedence due to any of the ladies, it would, as some one must go first, be natural to give the precedence to the wife of a general, admiral, or K.C. who might be present. It should be understood that age has nothing to do with precedence, and that *a young, unmarried lady would take precedence of a married one of inferior rank.*

The arrangement of precedence between officers of the army and navy is very intricate. A naval post-captain ranks with a colonel in the army, but when he has served as post-captain for three years he ranks with a major-general. Naval precedence recognises admirals, vice and rear admirals, post-captains, commanders, lieutenants. Military precedence has generals, lieutenant-generals, major-generals, colonels, lieutenant-colonels, majors, captains, lieutenants. When an ambassador is present he takes precedence of all peers, being regarded as the representative of his sovereign. His wife enjoys the same precedence; but should he be a widower, with a daughter doing the honours of his house, she is not entitled to the rank of an ambassadress, but would rank with an English countess. It is impossible to give any precise set of rules that will obviate doubt in every case, as special circumstances have to be taken into account—the greatest difficulty occurring where there is positively

no rank ; for where there is, the rules are clear and definite, and have only to be implicitly followed.

The only guide in the former case is that afforded by good sense and good taste. Where these are conspicuous in a hostess, her guests will not be on the look-out for causes of offence, knowing, as the old phrase has it, that "none is meant," and a little care and forethought on the matter will generally obviate any difficulty that may arise from the question of precedence in the middle classes, respecting which we have already made some observations.

The foregoing hints will give every one a correct notion of the precedence in society, and enable dinner-givers to arrange the table so as to offend none.

TABLE OF PRECEDENCY.

For purposes of reference the table of Precedency, as officially promulgated, is here appended.

The Sovereign.

The Prince of Wales.

Grandsons of the Sovereign.

Brothers of the Sovereign.

Uncles of the Sovereign.

Nephews of the Sovereign.

Ambassadors.

The Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Lord High Chancellor.

The Archbishop of York.

The Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

The Lord President of the Council.

The Lord Privy Seal.

The four following Officers of State, if Dukes :

- (1) Lord Great Chamberlain (on duty) ;
- (2) the Earl Marshal ;
- (3) the Lord Steward ;
- (4) the Lord Chamberlain.

Dukes according to their Patents of Creation :

- (1) of England ;
- (2) of Scotland ;
- (3) of Great Britain ;
- (4) of Ireland ;
- (5) those created since the Union.

Eldest Sons of Dukes of Blood Royal.

Four above State Officers, if Marquesses.

Marquesses in same order as Dukes.

Eldest Sons of Dukes.

Four above State Officers, if Earls.

Earls in same order as Dukes.

Younger Sons of Dukes of Blood Royal.

Eldest Sons of Marquesses.

Younger Sons of Dukes.

Four above State Officers, if Viscounts.

Viscounts in same order as Dukes.

Eldest Sons of Earls.

Younger Sons of Marquesses.

The Bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester.

The other English Bishops according to Seniority of Consecration.

Four above State Officers, if Barons.

Secretaries of State and Irish Secretaries, if of the degree of a Baron.

Barons in same order as Dukes.

The Speaker of the House of Commons.

The Treasurer of H.M.'s Household.

The Comptroller of H.M.'s Household.

The Master of the Horse.

The Vice-Chamberlain of H.M.'s Household.

Secretaries of State under the Degree of a Baron.

SPEECHES AND TOASTS.

Eldest Sons of Viscounts.

Younger Sons of Earls.

Eldest Sons of Barons.

Knights of the Garter, if Commoners.

Privy Councillors, if of no higher rank.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The Lord Chief Justice of England.

The Master of the Rolls.

The Lords Justices of Appeal and President of the Probate Court.

Judges of the High Court.

Younger Sons of Viscounts.

Younger Sons of Barons.

Sons of Life Peers.

Baronets of either Kingdom, according to date of Patent.

Knights Grand Cross of the Bath.

Knights Grand Commanders of the Star of India.

Knights Grand Cross of St. Michael and St. George.

Knights Grand Commanders of the Indian Empire.

Knights Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order.

Knights Commanders of the above Orders.

Knights Bachelors.

Commanders of the Royal Victorian Order.

Judges of the County Courts.

Masters in Lunacy.

Companions of the Bath, Star of India, St. Michael and St. George, and Indian Empire.

Members Fourth Class of the Royal Victorian Order.

Companions of the Distinguished Service Order.

Eldest Sons of Youngest Sons of Peers.

Eldest Sons of Baronets.

Eldest Sons of Knights in order of their Fathers.

Members Fifth Class of the Royal Victorian Order.

Younger Sons of Younger Sons of Peers.

Younger Sons of Baronets.

Younger Sons of Knights in order of their Fathers.

Naval, Military, and other Esquires by Office.

There are three Orders confined to ladies, viz : the Order of Victoria and Albert, the Crown of India, and the Royal Red Cross, but members are entitled to no special precedence.

THE END.



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